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THE ORIGIN OF PAINTING ON CLOTH IN EGYPT. *The Connoisseur.*

London, April 1906.

PALÆOLITHIC VESSELS OF EGYPT.

London, 1907.

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THE LIGHT OF EGYPT

FROM RECENTLY DISCOVERED PREDYNASTIC AND EARLY CHRISTIAN RECORDS

WITH 51 PLATES

BY

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دولت علیهٔ عثمانیه پادشاه معظمی سلطان البرین و البحرین السلطان بن
السلطان الخاقان محمد الخامس خان حضرتلرینه بو اثر ناچیزانه‌م کمال حرمت و مصادقتله
تقدیم اولنور

زوبر ده رشتافیال

TO

HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY

THE SULTAN

KHAKAN AND KHALIF

MUHAMMAD KHAN THE FIFTH

THIS BOOK IS BY PERMISSION RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED

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CHAPTER I

THE MANUSCRIPTS AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THEIR DISCOVERY

THE LIGHT OF EGYPT

CHAPTER I

THE MANUSCRIPTS AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THEIR DISCOVERY

In the month of February 1907 I was in Egypt, engaged in making preparations for a journey to the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon in the Siwa desert. But, hearing a rumour that several important manuscripts had been discovered in Upper Egypt, I lost no time in hurrying up the Nile to attempt to acquire them. I found them to be seven Coptic volumes, a Greek codex of vellum, a dozen Greek papyri with fragments, and a book, as afterwards appeared, in the Nubian language. I was so fortunate as to conclude the purchase on the same day.

The person of whom I bought the manuscripts informed me, no doubt with the object of augmenting their value and importance, that they had all been found together quite recently near Thebes. But later investigations proved that the papyri came from the Elephantine Island at Assuan, and this has now been confirmed by their contents. The other manuscripts, it appears, were found by an Arab whilst working on his land near the ruins of an old Coptic monastery outside Edfu, and the Arab had sold them for a few pounds to the Coptic dealer, from whom I bought them. It further came to light that four volumes had already been disposed of before my arrival; these had been selected owing to their better state of preservation, but I had an opportunity of acquiring them also later on. It may

be mentioned in passing that I sent photographs and descriptions of all the manuscripts to the British Museum, by which they were ultimately bought.

Rumours must have got abroad that manuscripts of greater importance than at first anticipated (if we may judge by the few selected ones) were still among the remaining lot, for, the day after my arrival, experts from two foreign museums appeared upon the scene, only to find that they had been forestalled. Emissaries were thereupon despatched to me—both during my stay in Egypt and after my return to England—with very tempting offers, but as my object in acquiring the manuscripts was to retain them in England all offers were duly declined.

Later in the year I met, in Cairo, Professor Nicole of the Geneva University, who kindly volunteered to read the papyri. These are mostly of the sixth century. They refer to ecclesiastical matters, legal proceedings, marriages and transfer of property, and, although possessing great interest to students of the laws and customs of the times, are, with one exception, left out of this narrative; the one I am publishing gives a fair representation of the style and character of the rest.[1] For the first help in reading the Coptic manuscripts I am indebted to Mr. Lacau of the Board of Cataloguers of the Cairo Museum, who was also good enough to give an approximate date to those undated.

Having some spare time and being determined to find out all I could about the origin of the manuscripts, I went back to Luxor and from there followed up the clue to Edfu. Here I met the supposed finder himself, who agreed, for a small remuneration, to take me to the spot where he said he had dug them out. On the last page of two of the manuscripts references are made to a monastery to which they were dedicated, named "St. Mercurius on the mount

[1] For a facsimile of another of these papyri, with an elaborate description, see the New Palæographical Society, Part vii.

PLATE I

VIEWS OF THE MONASTERY NEAR EDFU

See p. 5

at Edfu," and I was greatly surprised when the Arab piloted me to a place about five miles west of Edfu on the fringe of the desert plateau, where, he said, was a Coptic monastery. This monastery proved to be a white building of the Oriental type, standing within its own enclosure, and further partly surrounded by the dark brick ruins of what must once have been a very large building.

The modern building is a peculiar structure consisting of about twenty low white edifices ranged in symmetrical squares and surmounted by domes with Greek crosses. The two illustrations on Plate I. give a very good idea of its appearance.

Fig. 1 is a view taken from our halting-place under a large shady carob tree, looking in a N.W. direction. It shows the modern monastery standing within the ruins of the older one, with donkeys and my guide and followers in the foreground.

Fig. 2 was taken from a spot a little farther to the right of the large ruins; the bearing will be consequently S.W. The limestone formation of the desert plateau forms the background to the series of small white domes of the new monastery; one of the crosses is seen in the illustration, standing out pretty plainly against the clear sky, but the others are obscured by the dark background.

The Arab told me that, whilst working on some fields that he owns close by, he happened to notice some bricks in the ground near the monastery; these he removed, and discovered a crudely built receptacle, within which the manuscripts lay.[1] I asked him to show me the spot and he pointed out the left-hand corner of the white wall in this illustration. The hiding-place was therefore originally within the old walls. On a casual examination of the site I could detect no trace of any workings. The sand, in any case, would very quickly cover up the spot again. Whether, therefore, his story is correct as to the exact site of the discovery I am unable to say, as it is easy to account for his unwillingness to disclose the actual place, if the land

[1] The British Museum Coptic Psalter was likewise found (with another manuscript) in a stone receptacle, perhaps built into a wall.

did not belong to him. All the other evidence, however, goes to prove that the manuscripts were discovered somewhere in the neighbourhood.

Mr. Crum, who has given me valuable help with the Coptic manuscripts, professed himself somewhat sceptical as to their provenance. In a letter to me on the subject, sent before I had given him all the particulars, he wrote in the following terms :—

"I hear it said that the vellum MSS. acquired last season in Egypt (yours, no doubt, with the rest) probably come originally from a recent find at Dêr el-Abyad (the White Monastery) near Achmîn, many miles further north than Edfu, where I had understood they had been found.

"It would much interest me if you could tell me whether you have proof of their true 'provenance,' or whether the peasants of whom you bought them merely said that they had been found at Edfu. The dedication in the manuscripts to a church at Edfu does not prove this; for the famous White Monastery library possessed several volumes originally belonging to churches elsewhere."

The evidence in the possession of Mr. Crum's informant must be much stronger than the story of my Arab, if the statement of the latter regarding the place and manner of the discovery is to be upset. I heard nothing more from Mr. Crum after I had given him the details of my inquiry.[1]

From inquiries made locally I learnt but little, although I had my trusty and energetic dragoman with me; neither did time permit of my paying a visit to the monastery itself. A monk living there said he knew no other name for the monastery than that by which the people called it—the "new white monastery"; neither did any one, he said, know the age of the new, or the period at which the old

[1] Mr. Seymour de Ricci suggests that the information received by Mr. Crum concerns, not my manuscripts, but the Greek biblical codices bought in 1907 by Mr. Freer of Detroit (Michigan). The latter volumes, it has been shown by Dr. Carl Schmidt, *seem* indeed to have come from the White Monastery near Achmîn.

monastery was destroyed; the ruins are all that remain of a very old monastery which stood here a long time ago; certain harvest festivals are still celebrated at the monastery, when a priest comes from Edfu and people gather in numbers from distant parts. When I told him the name of the older edifice before the tenth century, he evinced little interest in the matter and admitted he did not understand Coptic, although he could read the letters. As a rule, very few of the clergy in Egypt understand their own old language; they speak and write Arabic and are very ignorant of the history of their church and their religion.

The old monastery must have been one of considerable importance, if we may judge by the size and thickness of the ruined walls. In another manuscript a dedication was found to a church at Esneh, which would suggest that books from that church were brought here for safety, when it was threatened with destruction. But this, of course, is mere conjecture. It is well known that some monasteries bought up libraries of other churches, and it is very probable that they also received gifts and bequests of books as of other property; and no doubt the Nubian volume belonged originally also to this monastery.[1]

The most important of the Coptic manuscripts is the Apocryphal Narrative of Christ's descent into Hell, by the Apostle Bartholomew; this, the Greek manuscript relating to Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian and the small, insignificant-looking Nubian volume of the tenth century were left, because, from their appearance, they seemed to have no particular value compared with the larger and better preserved books selected from the find, before I obtained possession of the remainder. But it has since been proved that these three

[1] M. de Ricci points out that there must have been a Nubian colony near Esneh in the tenth century A.D. At Gebelên, quite close by, were found about 1886 three Nubian deeds on deerskin; at Esneh in 1895 was discovered a Greek Christian inscription, which may well point to a Nubian community using Greek as a liturgical language.

volumes alone were worth all the others put together, thus bringing home very forcibly the old saying that books should not be chosen by their covers.

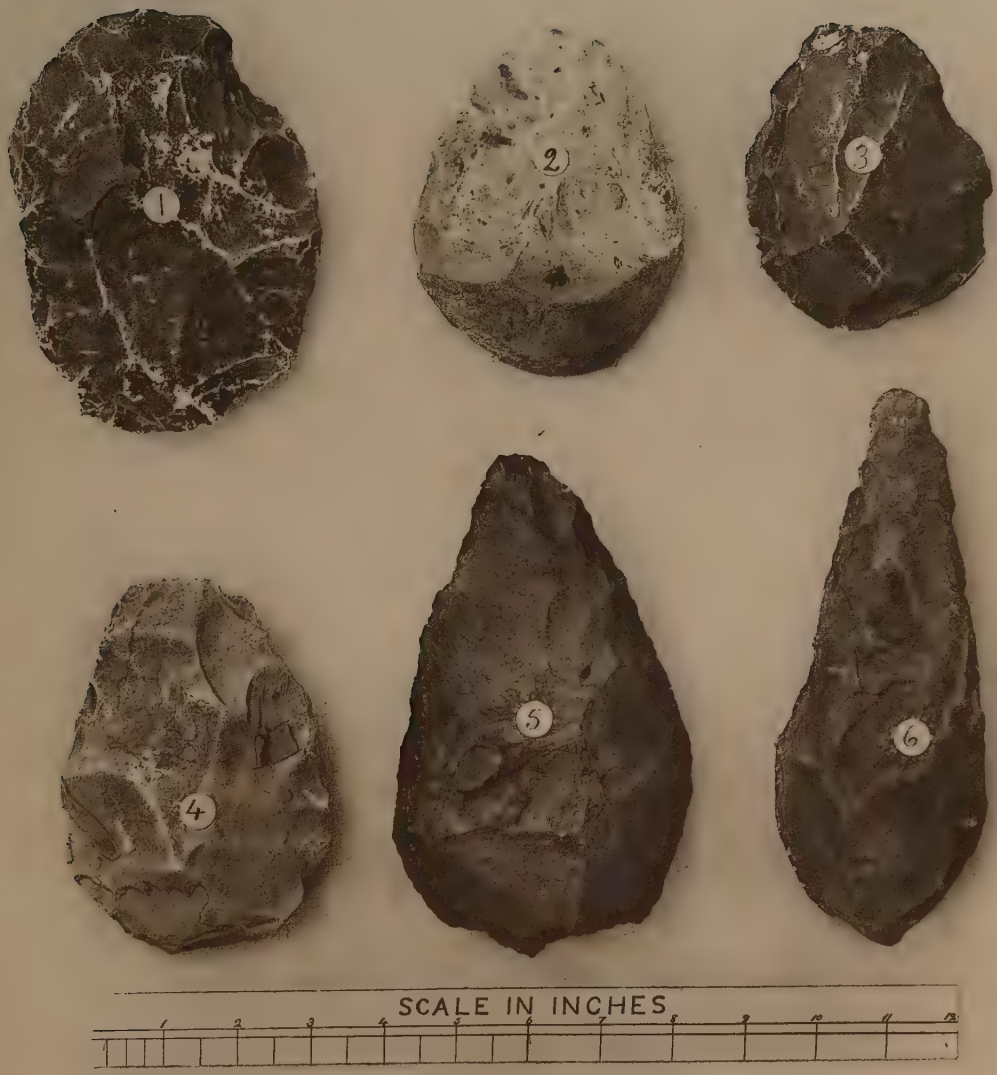
Since my return to England these manuscripts have been much discussed among scholars and in the newspapers. They have now all been read and some translated, and the result is embodied in the following pages. The translation of the Narrative of Christ's descent into Hell was most kindly undertaken by Mr. W. E. Crum, our foremost authority in Coptic, who also described the other Coptic manuscripts for me. He did this whilst on a holiday in Scotland without any books of reference, but he has since gone over them again, without, however, having found it necessary to make many additions to, or corrections of, his original versions. The Greek vellum manuscript, viz. the miracles of Cosmas and Damian, and one of the papyri have been most ably translated and transcribed by Mr. R. Flower, and for such of the meagre reading as it has been possible to obtain of the Nubian, a language not yet properly understood, I owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. T. Griffith of Queen's College, Oxford. Dr. Budge of the British Museum has since published this manuscript in facsimile, with a commentary. It may be worth while to state that the account here given of the manuscript was prepared before it came into the possession of the Museum, but various circumstances — more particularly a closer investigation of palæolithic remains—have delayed the publication of the present book.

The intention of my book is twofold. First, I am anxious to publish a full account of the manuscripts from the scientific point of view. Secondly, on the suggestion of a friend, for whose opinion I have a great regard, I have thought it well to give some such account of various phases of Egyptian history, art, and culture as will put the general reader in a position to estimate the worth of these manuscripts as a contribution to our knowledge. Such details,

PLATE II

EARLY PALÆOLITHIC FLINT IMPLEMENTS

See p. 13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CHAPTER II

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE EGYPTIAN STONE AGE, AND OF CIVILISATION AND ART FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

CHAPTER II

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE EGYPTIAN STONE AGE, AND OF CIVILISATION AND ART FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

EGYPT, "the mother of men civilised," has always fascinated the minds of the successive generations of mankind by her immemorial antiquity. And the researches of a scientific age in extending the knowledge of this antiquity have done nothing to impair the fascination. The unique physical structure, the fertility of the soil, the wealth of the remains, which generation after generation have left behind them for a testimony, the strange and ever-varying history of this meeting-place of peoples, exercise an attraction which we can more easily feel than explain. We have legible records of practically every type of man that has lived in the country. The inhabitants, from the "Egypto-palæolithic"[1] to the Neolithic period, have left frequent evidence of their existence and manner of life in many parts of the country, and historic records, beginning early, stretch down in unbroken sequence to our own times.

Flint implements of an extremely primitive type, the earliest known in Egypt or elsewhere, have recently been found in two localities about fifteen miles south of Thebes on the high terraces of the hill-slopes below the desert plateau itself. In the absence of a better term, we shall call them "Early-palæolithic."

Six specimens are illustrated in Plate II.

Fig. 1. A boldly flaked, equally convex, disc-shaped hatchet, almost elliptical in shape, with brown patina.

[1] I have explained the use of this term in my booklet, "Palæolithic Vessels of Egypt, or The Earliest Handiwork of Man" (Macmillan & Co., 1907).

Fig. 2. A plano-convex hand-stone formed from a nodule of grey flint; part of the natural crust remains on one side at the butt end. It is much weathered and is of a creamy white colour. Found buried in the sand.

Fig. 3. A small hand-stone with boldly flaked and sharply defined angles of flaking on both sides; the patina is a beautiful velvety brown oxide of iron.

Fig. 4. An ovate form of a chopper, equally flaked on both sides; deeply incrusted and much weathered and water-worn in appearance. It has two distinct finger-marks on the surface. Found buried in the sand.

Fig. 5. A large pear-shaped hatchet, ovately triangular and double convex in form; has a dark-brown patina and is much weathered in appearance. Found lying on the surface.

Fig. 6. A crudely flaked borer type, retaining the natural crust all round the butt end; made of the common morpholithic nodule, deeply patinated of a dark-brown colour. Found on the surface.

No skeletons or dried-up bodies have been discovered, either of this period or the succeeding palæolithic age in Egypt, where the dry climate would have preserved them; it is therefore permissible to argue that they did not bury their dead, and as burial did not take place, they could have had no conception or definite form of religion.

M. de Mortillet has given an industrial classification of the stone age, as most of the French flint implements are found in caves and sedimentary stratifications, sometimes accompanied by human and animal remains of extinct species such as the mammoth and woolly-haired rhinoceros, and various other objects. He divides this age into four periods, naming them after the localities, where most of the implements were originally discovered; they are as follows, in order of seniority, from the earliest pleistocene or glacial period:—

The first:—The "Chelléene";
The second:—The "Moustérienne";
The third:—The "Solutréenne"; and—
The fourth:—The "Magdalénienne."

The first corresponds to the Egypto-palæolithic, and the fourth to the neolithic period.

In the present treatise, the terms Early-palæolithic, Palæolithic,

PLATE III

A TYPICAL "WADY" OF THE NILE VALLEY

See p. 15

and Neolithic are used as connoting the extreme periods only, as most of the implements of Upper Egypt are surface finds, discovered *in situ*, without any appreciable break throughout this vast period of time.

For convenience of treatment, I shall divide my account of Egypt into two parts; the one dealing very briefly with the pre-dynastic period, the other narrating more at length the historical period.

Geologists and anthropologists tell us that man evolved from a lower species during the pliocene period.[1] Of these earlier stages of human infancy, Egypt, since certain geological formations are missing there, has nothing to tell us. But from the very early palæolithic to the neolithic period, we begin to tread upon surer ground.

The general structure of Egypt and Northern Africa is that of Eocene deposit formed under the sea. The widely spread physical revolution, that caused the upheaval of this stupendous area some time during the later tertiary periods and the probable severance of some of the bridges connecting Europe with Africa, satisfactorily account for the many large surface fissures. Of such fissures the present Red Sea and the Nile Valley, with its subsidiary dales or "wadies," branching out from the main valley into the desert on either side, are good examples.

In the process of upheaval, and as the water receded, the sharp edges of the fractured surface were worn down. To some extent this process of rounding off the broken sections of the country still continues, but the agency by means of which it is carried on to-day is that of wind-blown desert sand, an occasional shower of rain, or a cloud-burst.

One of these typical "wadies" will be seen in Plate III. On

[1] It has been suggested in the *Geological Magazine*, that the appearance of the human species took place during the pliocene period, which lasted 3,500,000 years, and ended 2,800,000 years ago.

the right-hand side, at the foot of the somewhat overhanging cliff, is a rock-shelter, once no doubt the dwelling of palæolithic man. The hills in the distance show the effect of the gradual rounding-off process by means of the agencies described above. The head of this "wadie" is about twenty miles from the river, due west from El-Mallah, half-way between Thebes and Nagâda. The elevation is nearly 1000 feet above the level of the sea.

As the sea receded, the rivers draining the Abyssinian mountain slopes and Central Africa found their way into the Nile fissure. They had previously emptied into the sea, which was then many hundred miles farther south. Æons, however, elapsed before the fissure became silted up to such a height as to force the Nile to overflow, when it began to lay its first deposit of silt on the arid banks of the river, and thus created the first land available for vegetation. Animal life pressed down the same channel, followed in due course by man; all this happened long before the pleistocene period, and Upper Egypt no doubt became one of the first settling places of men, from which they spread later on throughout the Nile Valley and the coast of the Mediterranean Sea.

This is a possible explanation of the origin and the formation of Egypt and the surrounding country, as well as of the infiltration of men from their earlier and more ancient home considerably farther south. The original settlers were therefore of the Negroid race. It is possible that the palæolithic implements discovered in many parts of North Central Africa give evidence of an earlier stage in human evolution, stretching back probably to the pliocene period.

For self-protection palæolithic man lived a short distance from the river, which at that time followed a course near the foot of the Western Hills. Among the estuaries of the "wadies" in the Thebaid district he found numerous cavities in the rocks and ledges beneath them, that would afford him shelter alike from wild beasts and the elements. Higher up the same hill-slopes, and always at some point of vantage, he sought the raw material from which he manufactured his

PLATE IV

PROBABLE COURSE OF THE NILE DURING THE PALÆOLITHIC AND NEOLITHIC PERIODS

See p. 17

SCALE 1 : 100000

implements. These sites indicate a flourishing industry in those days.

Plate IV. illustrates the hypothetical courses of the Nile during the palæolithic and neolithic periods as well as the modern course itself. The Western Hills being much higher and steeper than the eastern range, it would follow that the fissure was deeper on the western side, and that the early bed of the river would have described a course in that neighbourhood. In the process of time, as the fissure got silted up, and the river had formed a deposit of alluvium on both banks, the next diversion took place towards the lower ground in the vicinity of the hills bordering on the eastern desert at some time during the neolithic period. This theory is supported, moreover, by the absence of palæolithic flints on the eastern side, where only neolithic implements have hitherto been found. The modern course, as will be seen, runs nearly in the middle of the valley, and has deviated westward from the neolithic channel; this process continues to the present day, and is quite appreciable near El-Zeniat, where traces only are left of the Nile bed, the river having cut its way through a new channel, leaving a long, narrow, island-shaped strip of land.

The country surrounding the Nile Valley was, in this palæolithic age, a barren waste, devoid of vegetation and animal life—a condition which has persisted to a great extent into the present day. Human life did not extend beyond a narrow limit of some thirty miles on either side of the valley; nor has any evidence of such been found as yet in Upper Egypt.

It was in 1869 that the theory of a separate stone age in Egypt began to take shape in the minds of anthropologists. In that year M. Arcelin published his views, and about the same time MM. Hamy and Lenormant reported a find of palæolithic flint implements near Thebes. M. Lenormant communicated this discovery in a letter to one of the members of the Academy of Science in Paris, from which I quote his words. "J'ai trouvé," he wrote, "des restes d'un âge de pierre en Égypte. L'existence d'un âge de pierre en Égypte avait été jusqu'à présent contestée."

This announcement was followed by long and heated discussions between the leading anthropologists and Egyptologists of Europe and elsewhere, and brought about a division between the two parties regarding the theory of the stone age thus advanced. Most of the latter, with MM. Marietta and Brugsch, stood out against the new position; Professor Schweinfurth wavered; but in 1875 Lord Avebury disproved their verdict, and his view was confirmed by Sir John Evans and others. Since then, the well-known discoveries of Professor Flinders Petrie and M. de Morgan near Gebelên and Nagâda have been made, with results too well known to need exposition here. It is enough to state that Professor Petrie discovered the pre-dynastic race, and M. de Morgan laid bare the tombs of the earliest known kings and made an attempt at classification of flint implements.

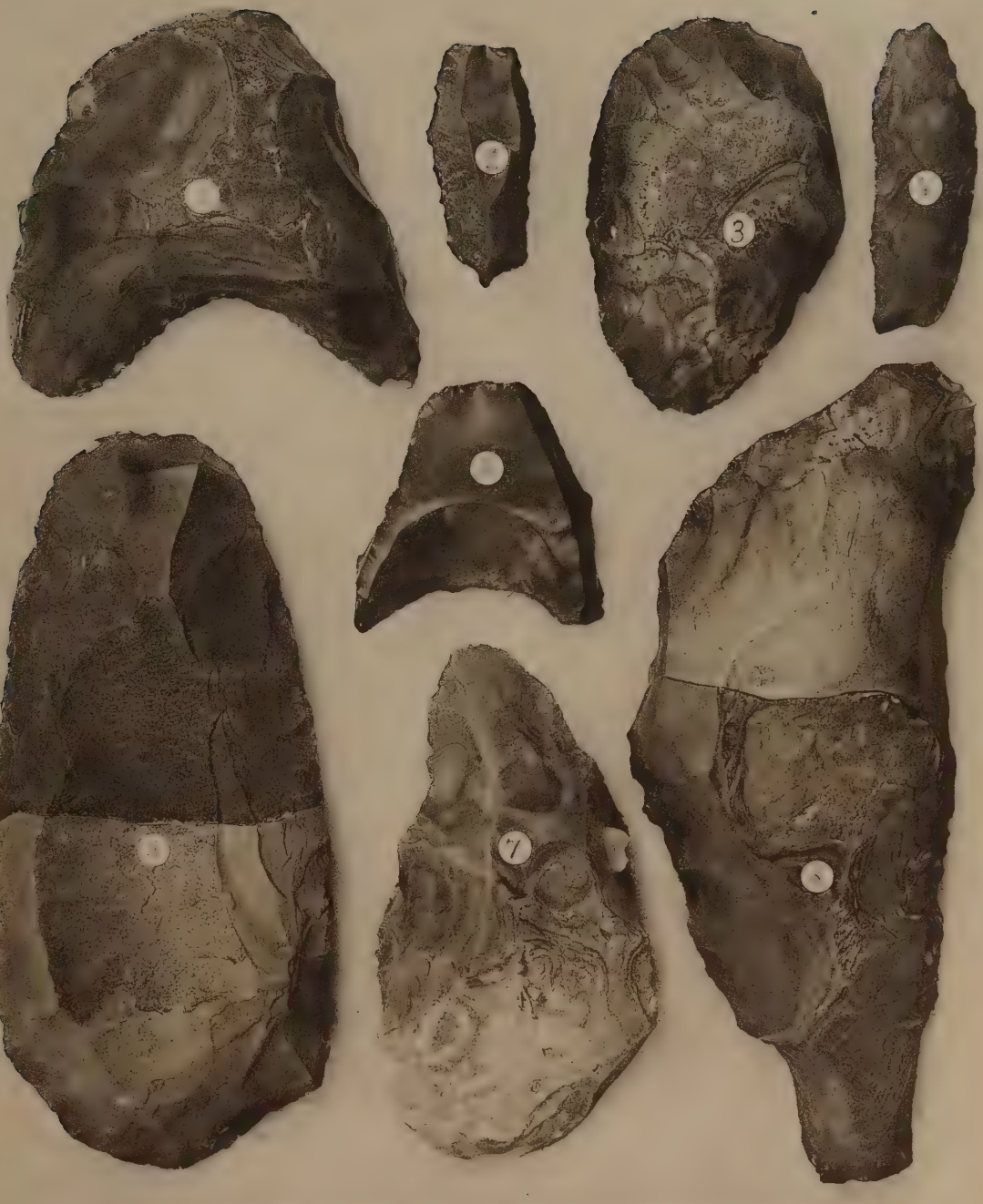
Nevertheless M. Lajard has attempted to throw further doubt on the subject in an article in the Journal of the Institut Egyptien of March 1894, in which he gives several reasons why a palæolithic period could not have existed in Egypt. His chief argument is the extreme rarity of pliocene and quaternary alluvium, the depth of the Nile bed, where such remains should be, if any existed, and the absence elsewhere of such strata, the presence of which he regards as the surest guide to anthropologists. General Pitt-Rivers, it is true, has discovered implements underground in an exposed section near the valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, but it is not conclusively proved whether this is a true quaternary alluvium deposit or merely the detritus of the valley itself, combined with an accumulation of sand blown down from the Desert Plateau in the same manner as that which had covered and hid the entrances to some of the Tombs of the Kings.

But in applying to Egypt preconceived theories of evidence—doubtless generally sound from the anthropological point of view in relation to Europe—M. Lajard obviously ignored the difference in climatic conditions, and the important fact that the primitive man in Upper Egypt may have been forced by the changes of the river-bed

PLATE V

PALÆOLITHIC FLINT IMPLEMENTS

See p. 19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and for self-preservation to abandon the river and take to the declivities in the mountains on the west side of the Nile Valley.

A large number of "factory" sites of palæolithic flint implements exist in the Thebaid district, and this is no doubt the oldest settlement of man in Egypt. They indicate various occupations. Javelin, spear, and axe heads imply the chase; hand-stones and small choppers were used for breaking up bones for the marrow; scrapers to remove the fat from hides; choppers for cutting down trees, splitting wood, and hollowing out boats; hoes, borers, &c., would be employed for agricultural and pastoral purposes.

It is interesting to note the striking analogy and even identity of these Egyptian tools with stone implements of other countries and ages, invented by man to supply the first necessaries of life.

In Plate V. and the following plates the more interesting of these are given.

Fig. 1. A fairly common Egyptian type of the period, in the shape of a heart; the cutting edge is crescent-shaped, formed by a single blow on one side, and the other carefully worked to the required radius; it resembles a spokeshave, and may have been used for scraping off the bark of spear-shafts, or for removing the hair or fat from raw hide thongs; it has a dark-brown patina.

Fig. 2. A flake with pointed end, used as a piercer; has a dark-brown patina; a very rare type of this period.

Fig. 3. A beautiful hand-stone, with equally convex sides and well finished arcuate edge; dark-red patina.

Fig. 4. A scraper, chipped on the side shown in the plate. It has a single flake with the bulb of percussion on the reverse side.

Fig. 5. A large, flat, celt-shaped implement, probably intended for use as a clod-breaker; made of chert; it is crudely shaped and broken in two. The two halves are patinated on opposite sides; it must have been broken in manufacture, and, when discarded, the two pieces fell to the ground, exposing opposite sides to the rays of the sun.

Fig. 6. A similar implement to Fig. 1, but smaller, showing the crescent-shaped flaking for the arcuate edge. Somewhat similar hollow scrapers of the neolithic period have been found in England and Ireland.

Fig. 7. A very beautiful and well-preserved chopper, made of a nodule with the natural crust at the butt end; the edge is very sharp all round; it

was found imbedded in the sand and has a creamy yellow patina; it is evenly flaked and equally formed on both sides.

Fig. 8. A chopper or fabricator made of a long narrow nodule, with one end adapted for a handle; one side is crudely flaked into a cutting edge, the crust of the nodule remaining on both sides; this implement has also been broken in manufacture and discarded; both sides are patinated in a different shade of light brown.

Plate VI. A continuation of the preceding series :—

Fig. 1. An interesting hoe-shaped type, slightly curved and boldly flaked; red patina.

Fig. 2. A pointed borer, sub-triangular, equally convex form, carefully flaked all round; red patina.

Fig. 3. A pointed, triangular axe-head, boldly flaked, with part of the natural crust left on one surface and butt end.

Fig. 4. A small hand-stone, boldly flaked; part of the nodule left to fit into the hand; it has a yellow patina and sharp cutting edge.

Fig. 5. A hand chopper, intended to be held with both hands, edge downwards; boldly flaked with a very sharp square cutting edge; the crust of the nodule is left at the butt end; yellow patina and well preserved.

Fig. 6. A well-made, pointed chopper, with the natural crust of the nodule left at the butt end; it has a beautiful dark-red patina.

Plate VII. Palæolithic Implements continued :—

Fig. 1. Triangular-shaped axe-head; the flaking is bold throughout, and a portion of the natural crust of the nodule is left at both ends and along the ridge, as will be seen in the plate; it has a deep dark patina.

Fig. 2. A pointed axe-head, crudely flaked on both sides, with a portion of the crust of the nodule left at the butt end. It was found half buried in the sand, the point being patinated to a brown colour, whereas the butt end is creamy white. This is a typical thunderbolt type of the ancients, which gave that definition to some of the celts found on the surface in Great Britain and the Continent. Discovered *in situ*, the Greeks called them "Thunderbolt Axes" (αστροπελέκια). A portion or side is protected by contact with the ground, and retains traces of the opaque creamy hue or natural colour of the material, whereas the exposed surface partakes of the general colour of its surroundings.

Fig. 3. A beautifully flaked flint, double pointed, lanceolate ovate form, equally convex on both sides, about two inches thick. Such a large example of this particular type is very rare; has a dark-brown patina about one-thirty-secondth of an inch deep; on the left-hand side may be seen a

PLATE VI

PALÆOLITHIC FLINT IMPLEMENTS: SECOND SERIES

See p. 20

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SCALE IN INCHES
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slight accidental chipping, which, to judge by the colour of its patina, a pale brown, happened during the neolithic age. There are no signs of actual wear either along the arcuate edges or the faces themselves. It is too heavy to have been hafted any other way than by means of some raw-hide thong or flexible and pliable vine-like growth across the middle, which would ensure an even distribution of its weight.

Fig. 4 is a small type of a similar implement to Fig. 3. The side shown in the plate is somewhat flatter than the reverse, and both are better finished than the previously described weapon; it is about an inch thick, and has a deep rich brown velvety patina, and is well preserved. Both this and that previously described were found on the surface. From its shape and weight it seems to lend itself to be hafted at either end, and was probably intended to be reversed in its socket when a point was damaged.

Fig. 5 is boldly flaked on one side, and better finished on the other, viz. the side shown in the plate. It is a distinct spear-head type, the truncated end being intended for hafting in a spear-shaft. The point is carefully finished, and shows no sign of damage. The whole is evenly patinated in a light-brown colour.

Fig. 6. A crudely flaked, chopper-shaped implement, showing parts of the natural crust on the side exhibited in the plate, with a dark-brown velvety patina; the reverse side is boldly flaked lengthwise, and is almost flat. The type is a fairly common one of this period.

Fig. 7 is another lanceolate form, somewhat flat and carefully flaked on both sides, and the edges towards the point, which is quite sharp; the butt end was meant to be inserted in a lance shaft. It has a dark-brown velvety patina, evenly distributed on both sides, and is a rare type.

Fig. 8. A narrow spear-shaped flake, with a dark-brown patina; it retains the bulb of percussion on the reverse side, and the obverse shows two flaked sides longitudinally; such a sharp point is seldom found in flakes of this period.

Fig. 9. A flat, circular, disc-shaped scraper, crudely flaked on both sides and along its periphery, having a dark-brown patina.

The above-described implements were found on various "factory" sites, on the hill-slopes and terraces, at an elevation of from 100 feet to 200 feet above the Nile Valley, among the "wadies" in the neighbourhood of Nagâda and El-Mallah, on the border of the desert of Sahara, and belong to the type of Egypto-Palæolithic implements. Figs. 1 and 6 in Plate VII. are undoubtedly unfinished implements, whereas the others are all finished, and it seems strange that they

should have been thus abandoned or forgotten on the surface; but being found *in situ* on "factory" sites, it is possible they were left by the artisan, when the best of the manufactured implements were removed. They are well preserved, and show no signs of wear. Two years ago I was so fortunate as to discover, in association with some of these "factories," certain hollow vessels of limestone, flint, or chert, which had been used by the primitive flint-knappers as water-holders to cleanse their choppers from the grit accumulated in the flaking and chipping of their stone implements.

In Plate VIII. will be seen two of these vessels.

Fig. 1 has a naturally formed cavity, and was evidently part of a much larger flint nodule, which the primitive man, finding too heavy for transport, split so as to leave only the hollowed part that served to contain water. This cleavage can be distinctly seen on the left-hand side, as also on a part of the surface itself, where the number label is stuck on. The cleavage is darkly patinated and does not differ in colour from the rest of the nodule, which is of a brown-black shade. Owing to this fact, the hollow does not show well in the photograph. This primitive type of a water-vessel is probably the germ from which sprang the art of pottery. The cavities thus produced by natural means would hold water readily, and it was no doubt the sight of these natural vessels that first prompted the palæolithic man to an artificial adaptation with the same purpose in view. It is but a step from these natural water-holders to the limestone vessels to which I have referred.

Fig. 2 represents a small block of one of these limestones artificially hollowed out. It is much weathered and no tool marks can be seen, but its very age would preclude such a possibility, owing to the perishable nature of the material of which it is made. This is the earliest known handiwork of man next to the flint tools themselves.

Plate IX. shows a trough-shaped vessel of limestone. In process of transporting it from the "wadie" where it was discovered, the right-hand corner and one of the sides were unfortunately broken, but all the pieces being preserved, it has been possible to build it up again. This vessel, like Fig. 2 in Plate VIII., is also artificially hollowed out, and very symmetrical in shape. As will be seen from the scale, it measures about 30 inches in length by 14 inches in width

PLATE VII

PALÆOLITHIC FLINT IMPLEMENTS: THIRD SERIES

See p. 21

SCALE IN INCHES

and would enable several men to sit around it chipping their flints at the same time. It is a very interesting specimen, and is not only the most perfectly made, but the largest hitherto found. This vessel was discovered at the head of the "wadie," in the immediate neighbourhood of the cave-shelter seen in Plate III.

In some of the tombs at Beni Hasan are illustrations, of which the sketch below is a reproduction, of men sitting and kneeling in the act of knapping flints. They hold the implement on which they work in one hand, and a tool known as a "Fabricator" or "chopper" in the other. In front of them are small square blocks into which they seem to dip the "chopper." Some of these blocks are higher than others, and although no hollows are shown—perspective drawing being unknown—they may conceivably represent vessels made of limestone, marble, or some other soft stone. By

FLINT KNAPPERS FROM THE TWELFTH-DYNASTY TOMBS AT BENI HASAN

some archæologists they are held to be anvils, and no one has given a different solution. This, however, I can scarcely believe possible, for a flint, if properly flaked, must have free play for the force of percussion to radiate in the direction of the blow. To place it on an anvil would be fatal to successful cleavage, as the blow would then only take effect in the direction of the point of contact with the anvil and crush it. Might not these so-called "anvils" be just such vessels as the ones discovered by me? They would serve various purposes—to temper the sun-scorched side of the nodule, to cool the chopper, to cleanse it from accumulated grit, and the like. Vessels of this type used in the flint implement manufacture would become traditional, and we need not feel surprised to see them figure in tombs of a later age, when various industries are represented.

The object of these plates and descriptions is to illustrate a few hitherto unknown types of Egyptian stone age remains in their relation to the evolution of civilisation, but I do not propose to treat the

subject at length. The presence of flint implements in Upper Egypt is now so well established that it is no longer doubted even by those who most vigorously opposed the theory of their existence in the country. But for the purpose of this narrative the brief review I have given above must suffice.

The existence of such quantities of these remains goes far to show that Upper Egypt was then inhabited by a fairly numerous population, using implements corresponding to those of the European palæolithic age or Glacial period. The exact date of that age is still a matter of controversy.

Dr. James Croll proposes a new and interesting theory for calculating the age of the Glacial period, based upon cosmic causes, which gives him 240,000 years. The eccentricity of the Earth's orbit increases, it seems, at certain periods combined with the precession of the equinox, when the Earth is 9,000,000 miles further from the sun, and our hemisphere, with its winter in aphelion, would then experience glacial conditions.

Egypt escaped the glacial conditions of Europe, with their attendant glaciers and floating ice, as none of the early-palæolithic or pre-glacial implements discovered seem to have been dislodged from the surface, although evidence of climatic conditions different from those prevailing to-day in Egypt are not entirely wanting. The early-palæolithic flint implements, already referred to, and illustrated in Plate I., bear the distinct hall-mark of great age, action of water, and perhaps snow and frost. Some have an incrustation of limestone formed in solution, frequently an eighth of an inch in thickness. In addition to this, those found buried in the sand are covered with a thin coating of oxide of iron, in contradistinction to the deep dark patina of the others found *in situ*, caused by exposure through long ages to the action of the actinic rays of the sun.

From these early and later palæolithic men descended the neolithic race, of whom we have more tangible record in the greater variety of their remains throughout the Nile Valley, Northern Africa generally,

PLATE VIII

LIMESTONE VESSELS USED IN FLINT-FACTORIES

See p. 22

SCALE IN INCHES

and along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. In the previously mentioned work I have shown that in some ways the art of these later inhabitants was in the direct line of evolution from that of their palæolithic ancestors. But the development is so great that it is easy to lose sight of the resemblance.

Well-preserved dried-up bodies of the neolithic period are not uncommon in Upper Egypt; the dead were buried in shallow graves, frequently on reed mats, with pottery and flint or other stone implements, lying either on one side or crouched up, or sitting in a squatting posture; in all cases they face the east. All the male bodies examined by the writer were lying on the right side, and all the female on the left. From this careful preservation of the dead—a fundamental principle of religion—we may see how great had been the evolution of spiritual conceptions in the intervening period. It is the beginning of a new era and the foundation of a religion, which in its later developments always centred round the conception of the reunion of the soul with its body and its judgment in the body.

Implements of the chase and agriculture and the emblems of religion, fashioned out of stone, bone, or pottery, attained a beautiful finish towards the later neolithic period. Existing carvings on stone and ivory and mouldings in pottery show how great a stride art had made in the interval; but the stoneware, pottery, and flint knives of the period form its best memorial. The vessels were made by hand, with only the most rudimentary tools—the potter's wheel was not yet in existence—and the pottery was well baked. Many of the extant examples of both fabrics are exceedingly graceful in shape, and the pottery is artistically decorated with flowers, animals, figures of men, hills, boats, water-lines, and symmetrical designs; the delicate flint knives are most exquisitely fashioned and finished.

The Museum of Practical Archæology at Luxor has the most complete and interesting collection of Flint Implements in Egypt. Beginning with the early-palæolithic, a steady evolution may be traced through the stone ages down to the early dynastic periods.

Several well-preserved dried-up bodies of the neolithic period, and artistic pre-dynastic pottery, are likewise comprised in the collection.

In Plate X. a selection of typical neolithic implements is given.

Fig. 1. A thin concave scraper with the edge finished on one side. It was fashioned of a series of flakes chipped off at a single blow, showing the bulb of percussion on the one side, and the reverse of another flake, with a similar bulb of percussion on the convex side seen in the plate.

Fig. 2. A well-finished adze-shaped implement, with a curved bevelled cutting edge made at one blow. It is plano-convex, and has no patina.

Fig. 3. A large, crudely formed, knife-shaped implement, boldly flaked, of about one inch in thickness. It was broken in manufacture and discarded, and as before (*cf.* Plate V., Fig. 5) the two pieces must have fallen, exposing opposite sides to the action of the sun's rays.

Fig. 4. Another type of a knife, slightly curved and boldly flaked. This has also been broken in manufacture, and the two pieces have been exposed on opposite sides. Several of these broken knife-shaped implements of the same period have been found with both pieces in the same vicinity.

Fig. 5. A pointed hand-stone, formed of a nodule, of which the butt end has been left in its natural state; this implement resembles the palæolithic handstones (illustrated in Plate VI., Fig. 4). The crust of the nodule has no patina, and is considerably thicker than that of its palæolithic fellow, and the flaked part is not patinated to any great depth.

Fig. 6. A borer-shaped implement with a crudely flaked, round, truncated base.

All the above-described implements, with the exception of the first two, were found on the surface in the Thebaid district at Gebelên, Thebes, and Nagâda, Figs. 1 and 2 being discovered buried with the dead, also in this district.

To this age belong also the exquisitely finished cutting implements seen in the following Plate XI.

Figs. 1 and 2. Carefully flaked sickles, with serrations on the curved edges.

Fig. 3. A perfectly finished knife, in dark flint; probably an operating or sacrificial knife. Some that have been found must have seen a good deal of use, as all the fine serrations along the arcuate edges are frequently worn off. In this example they are beautifully preserved; there are twenty-five notches to the inch, and it is serrated along three sides down to the middle of the truncated part left for a handle.

PLATE IX

TROUGH-SHAPED VESSEL OF LIMESTONE

See p. 23

SCALE IN INCHES

Fig. 4. A dagger blade with a square base of the natural crust of the nodule; it is a little more than an eighth of an inch thick, and well finished on both sides.

Figs. 5 to 8. A set of four beautifully made and well-finished knives; they are all cleft off, at a single blow, from the nucleus, the bulb of percussion being carefully worked off on the reverse side; on the obverse will be seen a ridge running throughout the length of the knives. Examined sideways, the edges are not in one plane, and they show an ogival curve well adapted for cutting with the right hand. In Figs. 5 and 6 the ridges are ornamented with serrations. In Fig. 6 the blade is beautifully made and well proportioned. Notches in the serrations on the arcuate edge number twenty-five to the inch; a portion of the handle is mounted in gold and covered in leather; blade very thin, and the whole well preserved.

Fig. 9. A square scraper of light-coloured flint, well preserved, with perfectly sharp edges all round.

Fig. 10. A knife-shaped flake of dark-yellow flint, with sharp cutting edge, and the bulb of percussion on the reverse side. All the above were found in the tombs at Gebelên and Thebes, and none are patinated.

Plate XII. represents a neolithic man, naturally mummified in the process of time by the dryness of the climatic conditions, covered with a woven fabric, partly preserved. He is lying on his right side, holding a slate object—probably an emblem of rank—between the left arm and the body. The slate has a row of small holes at one end, as seen in the plate, not unlike those found in some of the figures of primitive clay dolls, intended for the insertion of hair; the lower end, hidden from view, divides into three parts, like a trident with wings on either side.[1]

This body was found at Gebelên, in a dug-out grave in the sand, near the foot of the hill, and the objects are said to have been discovered in the same grave. Another dried-up body, lying on the left side on a reed mat, was found in a similar grave in the same neighbourhood, with a collection of primitive red and black pottery; it was the body of a woman.

[1] Objects of slate are frequently found in graves towards the latter neolithic period, and a carved one, bearing the name of Narmer, the last king before the first dynasty, was discovered by Mr. Quibell a few years ago. It is now in the Cairo Museum.

The other objects in the plate are those of funeral furniture, and consist of worked slates in the shapes of a sacred bark, fish, &c., and several clay pots of the gourd-shaped type, with dull black, magnetic oxide polished rims.

The figure in Plate XIII. illustrates the form of burial in the squatting posture, and represents a man seated in a clay pot, with elbows resting on knees and hands supporting the head. The lower part of the body is buried in a hard substance resembling soil. This figure is of black pottery, with some red designs painted on the back. Both are of crude workmanship, and were found a few miles south of Abydos.

Burials in burnt clay boxes or sarcophagi are very rare indeed in Upper Egypt. Plate XIV. shows such a box in a very good state of preservation, with a dried-up body in a crouching position inside. The clay box is made in one solid piece, about one and a half inches thick, with two rows of ornamentation running all round the upper edge; otherwise the sides are plain. The lid has been broken across in several places, but none of the pieces are missing; it shows carved upon it in low relief the figure of a man, lying on his right side, with knees and elbows drawn together. There are distinct traces of painting of a red colour upon the lid, and it is undoubtedly one of the earliest examples of painting known. It was found at Gebelên, and, belonging to the pre-dynastic period, it would be about seven thousand years old; it is probably unique.

A most interesting model in burnt clay of a sacred bark is seen in Plate XV. A sort of arch-shaped canopy of reeds, plaited together, is built over the stern, and in the forepart is a seated figure. The bark is painted outside, from stem to stern, along the gunwale, with a design in red colour resembling a row of pyramids, no doubt representing hills. Similar designs are frequently found on pre-dynastic buff-ware pottery. Models of sacred barks of this period are not uncommon, but one with a reed canopy is heretofore unknown. In shape it is not unlike the Venetian gondola. Being found buried

PLATE X

NEOLITHIC FLINT IMPLEMENTS

See p. 26

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with the dead, these boats are supposed to have had some symbolic religious meaning, connected probably with the voyage of the spirit of the dead to the underworld. This one was found at Gebelên, seventeen miles from Luxor.

Plate XVI. gives four examples of pottery of the later pre-dynastic period, when art seems to have reached its highest state of perfection.

Fig. 1. The large amphora-shaped vase on the left is made of red baked clay, with wavy lines painted in dark-brown colour representing water, and is one of the tallest of its kind found in Upper Egypt.

Fig. 2. The top vase in the middle is of the same material and colour, and has painted on it, in addition to the water lines, a row of small pyramids denoting hills.

Fig. 3. The bottom vase is of a lighter coloured clay, and bears on both sides paintings of crudely shaped boats ornamented with figures. It has also the earliest evidence of an attempt at handles on pottery.

Fig. 4. The right-hand amphora, on the same plate, is not so well finished as the first one, but it is interesting owing to the incised figures at its upper end. These may have some ideographic meaning, or may have been a form of writing used by the neolithic race before the advent of hieroglyphics. These vases were discovered at Nagâda.

Most beautiful and graceful stoneware appeared about this time also. A diorite squat-shaped vase will be seen in Plate XVII. It is of an unusual size, and in a fine state of preservation.

Quite recently a new necropolis has been discovered in the Arabian desert about twenty miles from Luxor, where a quantity of late pre-dynastic pottery, ivory and bone implements, and dried-up bodies was unearthed. The pottery shown in Plate XVIII. is mostly of a very primitive type, and may even represent pottery anterior in date to any other examples of that particular industry in Egypt, but it has been maintained by some authorities that it is a degenerate form of pre-dynastic art.

Fig. 1 is a gourd-shaped shell in a black baked clay, with a rather round base.

Fig. 2 is of red baked clay, with eight rows of "herring-bone" design; the rim has a slightly broader decoration of a fine diagonal pattern.

Fig. 3 is another clay pot with somewhat pointed bottom; the rim is

slightly flattened on two sides, and the periphery has likewise a sort of "herring-bone" design.

Fig. 4 is a "U"-shaped utensil, the hole running right through; it is made of dark yellow coloured clay, and bears traces of the discolouration of crystallised salt on its outer surface, as will be seen in the plate. The same will be noted in Fig. 5—a pointed pot of a dark yellow colour, with a black rim.

Fig. 6 is a well-made cup-shaped vessel in dark-brown clay.

They are all of the gourd-shaped type.

Plate XIX. A set of bone, ivory, and flint objects from the same find as those in Plate XVIII.

Figs. 1 to 4 are perfectly finished arrow-heads of various coloured flints, with serrated edges.

Fig. 5. A chisel-shaped bone, similar to modern tools used by saddlers for burnishing line marks and decorations on leather. It has been broken at one end, and is now mended, but is otherwise well preserved.

Fig. 6. An ivory implement in a rather shattered condition. One end is slightly truncated, and has been made, probably, to fit into a socket; its use is unknown, but it bears a great resemblance to the harpoons used by the Esquimaux of the present day, although the serrations are wanting.

Fig. 7. A flat, narrow, rib-shaped bone; several of these have been found measuring up to eighteen inches in length; their probable use was for weaving textiles.

Figs. 8, 9 and 10 are awls and a bradawl of various sizes.

Figs. 11 and 12. Bone needles.

Figs. 13 to 20. Flakes in a variety of coloured flints, with bulbs of percussion on one side; the sharp edges are carefully notched.

Shells and shell bracelets of a kind of *Fusus Longævus* have been found in the same locality; it is possible, therefore, that these serrated flakes were used for cutting the shells into sections for such bracelets, one of which is shown in Plate XX. (Fig. 9).

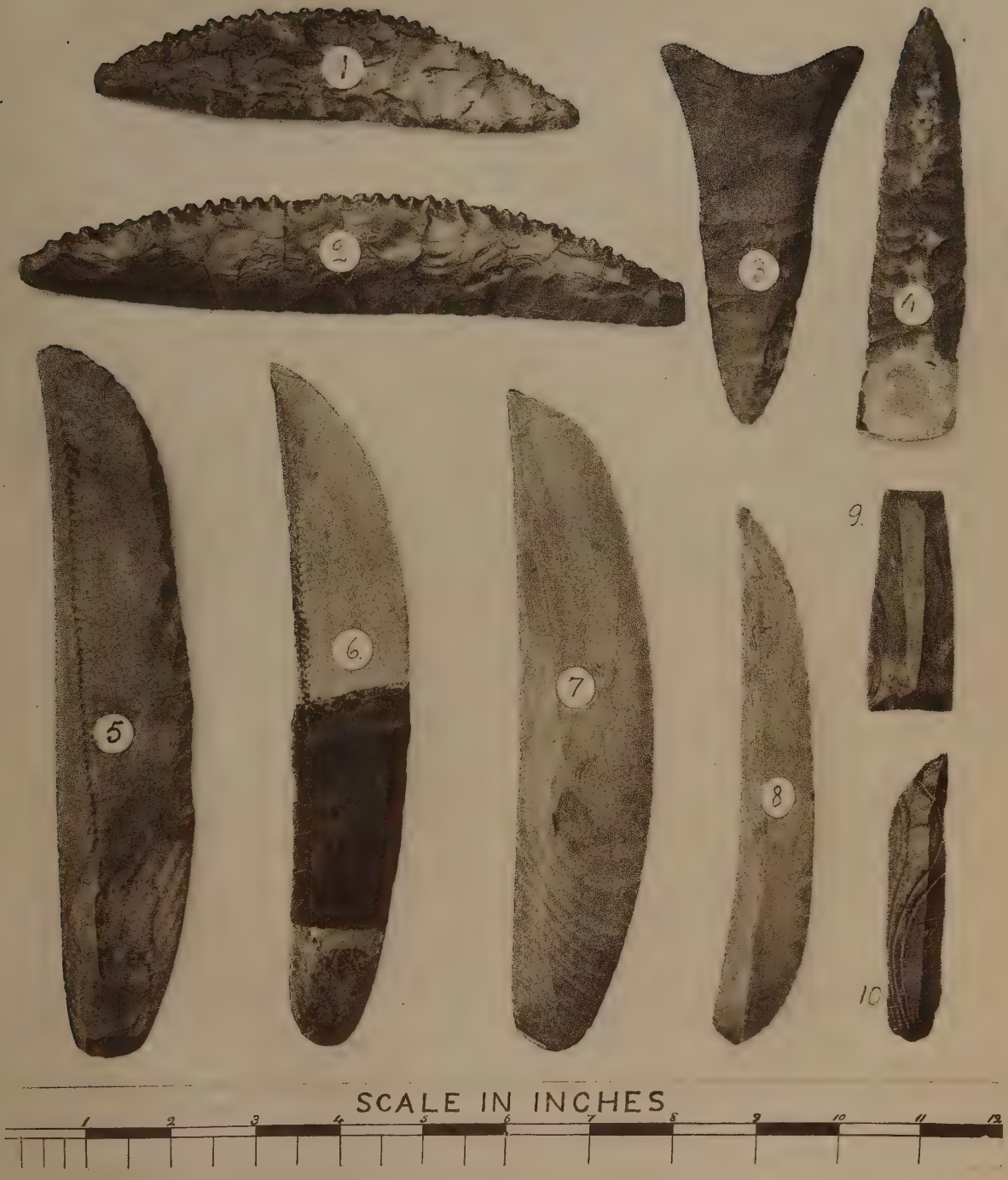
Objects of ornament and general utility have also been found in some of the graves, together with the above-described gourd-shaped pottery, and in Plate XX. a small selection of them is given.

Fig. 1 is a small string of *Dantalium* shells, which have of course been restrung for the purpose of the present plate. These minute, cylindrically shaped shells were doubtless the forerunners of the well-known later,

PLATE XI

CUTTING IMPLEMENTS OF THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD

See p. 26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dynastic blue-glazed mummy beads. They are found in the Mediterranean Sea, and prove that the people of the later neolithic period had intercourse, even in those days, with the seaboard.

Fig. 2 shows a string of the early dynastic, cylindrical mummy beads, for the sake of comparison with the shell-beads. The glazing on most of them has been worn off, and with a few exceptions they are almost white, with here and there a few pale-blue ones. These have likewise been restrung.

Fig. 3 illustrates a small string of shell-beads of the *Conus Flavidos* species, with *Terebra* shells employed as pendants; they are all partly decomposed from age.

Fig. 4 is a large shell of the *Spatha Nilotica* species. A number of these have been found, mostly in well-preserved condition, from which it may be inferred that they were used for some domestic purpose, and perfect examples were buried with the dead.

Fig. 5. We have a rare specimen of a round ivory bracelet; oval shapes are not uncommon at the same period.

Fig. 6. A heavy schist or slate bracelet.

Fig. 7. A very rare instance of carved ivory representing an animal with antlers, probably a gazelle; unfortunately only fragments are preserved. The forepart of the head is broken off, and gives the present fragment the appearance of the head of a rabbit. It was evidently intended for a shallow dish, as the two main fragments are scooped out on the reverse sides of those seen in the plate.

Fig. 8. A small ivory cup, in good state of preservation.

Fig. 9. A shell bracelet made of a kind of large *Fusus Longævus*, referred to in the description of Plate XIX. as having been cut or sawn with the thin serrated flint flakes illustrated in that plate.

Fig. 10. A shallow, oblong, spoon-shaped object, with a short straight handle, made of black baked clay.

Fig. 11. A narrow horn ladle, with a short handle bent inwards, made in one piece.

According to the traditions of the early historians, this neolithic race, occupying the Nile Valley some 7000 years ago, before the coming of the first dynastic conquerors, had a form of government of their own, a religion, and a long list of gods, demi-gods, and divine kings who had then ruled the country, it was popularly believed, for about 30,000 years.[1] These traditions have been to some

[1] Georgius Syncellus says that the Egyptians possessed a table of "old Chronicles" showing thirty dynasties in 113 descents, and covering 36,525 years.

extent substantiated by the excavations of Amelineau, and those of Professor Petrie and J. de Morgan in the neighbourhood of Gebelên, Nagâda, and Abydos, of which I have already spoken.

The historical period, beginning about 5000 B.C. with the dynastic kings, lasts down to our own times. But for part of this period the epithet "historic" is used only in a relative sense. No certain date can be assigned to events earlier than 2500 years ago. With this proviso, we may subdivide the historical periods under six headings—the Ancient Kingdom, the Middle and New Kingdoms, the Greek and Roman Empire in one, the Byzantine, and finally the Mohammedan period.

The following table will show their approximate dates:—

Periods.	Dynasties.	Approximate Dates.
I. Ancient Kingdom.	I.–XI.	B.C. 5000 to about 3000
II. Middle Kingdom .	XI.–XVIII.	B.C. 3000 to 1700
III. New Kingdom .	XVIII.–end of XXX.	B.C. 1700 to 332
IV. Greek and Roman	—	B.C. 332 to A.D. 390
V. Byzantine . .	—	A.D 390 to 640
VI. Mohammedan .	—	A.D. 640 to the present time

M. Ed. Meyer has suggested a new system for determining the dates of dynasties in articles published by him in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy in 1904, and again in 1908. He bases his calculation on the cycles of Sirius' appearances on the eastern horizon in Egypt. The ancient astronomers recorded this phenomenon at Heliopolis, and reckoning the periods at 1460 years from A.D. 138, when Censorinus pointed out that the first day of Thoth coincided with the 25th day of June, M. Meyer arrives at the following dates of cycles, viz. B.C. 1321, 2781, and 4241.

The beginning of the First Dynasty he therefore places

At about	4241 B.C.
The Twelfth Dynasty between . . .	2000–1788 B.C.
And the Eighteenth in	1580 B.C.

PLATE XII

BODY OF NEOLITHIC MAN, NATURALLY MUMMIFIED

See p. 27

For convenience' sake the orthodox order of chronological computation is adhered to in the following pages.

As a result of recent excavations both in Egypt and Babylonia, something like a uniformity in the mode of burial practised in the two countries has been traced, indicating that the process of embalming was known to the Babylonians long before the advent of the first dynastic period in Egypt. Some analogy has also been noted between the literature of Egypt and that of the Babylonian and Sumerian races. The cylindrical seals of Babylonia were introduced into Egypt during the early dynasties. That the Babylonians had a very ancient civilisation has also been proved by many excavations, notably those of Dr. E. J. Banks on the site of the ancient Adab, where he found inscriptions dating from the reign of Sur Engur, 2800 B.C., and pottery which he estimates as over 10,000 years old. All this strengthens the possibility that some of the civilisation of Asia found its way into Egypt about the time of the conquest of the pre-dynastic Nilotic race.

When the first of the dynastic conquerors from Thinis overran Egypt under their legendary leader Menas, they found an indigenous race in occupation. How far, it may be asked, was this race supplanted by the conquerors? There is no historical question more difficult to answer than that of the relations between any conquering and any conquered people in the past. Racial characteristics may give a clue; the recorded tradition of the people themselves is a guide, though an unsafe one; but among the surest of all sources of information are the religious beliefs, and more particularly the ceremonies and myths, which persist in the new civilisation as the last bequest of the old. And this is nowhere more true than in Egypt. Notwithstanding the influence of the Babylonian or Sumerian culture upon the people and country during the First Dynasty, "The Book of the Dead," the earliest record of Egyptian literature, professing to be a work of the First Dynasty, shows clearly the survival in a modified form of such ceremonies and traditions. In this way

a continuity of theological evolution is established in Egypt from the earliest period down to Christian times. But the fundamental principle was doubtless inherited from the neolithic race, with whom religion probably originated in Egypt, corroborative evidence of this being frequently obtained from their mode of burial and tomb furniture.

The first impulse of man's untutored nature is to give obedience and homage to the powers whom he imagines behind all natural phenomena—behind the regular movements and kindly ministry of the sun, moon, and stars no less than the desolating forces of whirlwind, flood, and earthquake. The primitive classification of gods is in accordance with the degree of pleasure or pain received from them by man. These natural gods were imaged by the indigenous Egyptians under the forms of animals or of men with zoomorphic attributes. There must have been a fully developed system of totemism among the earliest inhabitants of the Nile Valley. We find these gods represented some as tame, others as wild animals, the bull, the jackal, the cat, the vulture, the snake, the beetle (*scarabæus sacer*), and many others. Possibly a later development were the symbols or fetiches, which came into use to indicate the attributes and powers of these gods. Their common use was to ward off evil from the living and ensure eternal peace and happiness to the dead, with whom they were buried. Thus the heart-shaped "Ab" represented "the fountain of life"; the cross with a loop (ānkh), the *crux ansata* of later Christian symbolism, was the emblem of the "life one enjoys even after death." Urzat, the "Stairs," signified "the raising up to Heaven." The "eye" was a charm "against bite of serpents, the evil eye, and words spoken in malice."

It is difficult to disentangle the gods of the indigenous Egyptians from those of the conquering race. The earliest legends record many gods and triads of gods, of whom Khepera, Shu, and Tefneb are probably the oldest. Khepera in this myth created the world

PLATE XIII

FORM OF BURIAL IN THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD

See p. 28

SCALE IN INCHES

and the two other gods. Ra, the sun-god, seems also to have been a deity of old standing; by the time of the Third Dynasty the kings were already affixing "Ra" to their names, as a sign that they were the sons of God. Gradually other trinities of gods seem either to have been adopted or to have grown up among the people of Lower Egypt. The great cities had each its triad; Ptah, Sekhet, and Nefer-Temu at Memphis; Osiris, Isis, and Horus at Busiris; and at Thebes, Amen-Rā, Mut, and Khonsu. Hathor, Nut, Menthu, and many others were subsequently introduced in Upper Egypt.

Osiris is one of the most important, and probably among the earliest of the Egyptian deities. The Book of the Dead speaks of him as the god of the underworld. He is constantly found depicted as a mummy, and images of him were buried with the dead. The living did him honour, and after their death he watched over the welfare of all such souls as had deserved eternal life in his kingdom of the underworld.

Once upon a time, the legend goes, he lived on earth in human form. He was killed and cut into pieces by his brother Set, and the pieces were scattered throughout the country. But Isis, the sister-wife of Osiris, gathered together all the pieces and gave them burial. The head was buried at Abydos, where was the oldest and most revered temple dedicated to his worship. Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, at length overcame Set and avenged on him the slaughter of his father.

Of the general civilisation of the Ancient Kingdom period all our knowledge must be drawn from extant remains. Literature, monumental architecture, engineering, surveying, mathematics, and the practice of the most elaborate minor arts, all took their rise in this era. The pyramids and the Sphinx are the eternal memorials of this stage of art. Of the erection of many of these monuments we have no accurate knowledge.

Amongst implements dating from the Nilotic or first dynasties of the Ancient Kingdom, many, very crudely formed, have been found

at Thebes. They are, as a rule, made of creamy-grey flint, chert, and, not infrequently, limestone, and are generally but slightly patinated. A few specimens are given in Plate XXI.

Fig. 1. An unusually large-sized implement, slightly curved, both sides being flat and boldly flaked all round. In shape it resembles an unfinished knife; in fact, it belongs to a series of knife-shaped implements in the collection, of which it is the largest, and Fig. 4 on Plate X. illustrates a smaller example of the same kind.

Fig. 2. A narrow, broken object of naturally shaped chert, crudely flaked along both sides; its use is conjectural, although not unlikely to be that of a hand-thresher. The writer has seen a somewhat similar implement in actual use in a field in Upper Egypt. According to an old Egyptian custom, of which the practice turned to such exquisite account in the Book of Ruth is a survival, the harvest labourers are allowed to bring their women and children to pick up for themselves such ears of corn as the reapers happen to leave behind in the fields. These the children gather up into baskets, and the women thresh the corn then and there. The most common type of a hand-thresher is that of a heavy, cudgel-shaped wooden implement, but others made of stone are also used.

Fig. 3. A heavy hammer-head in limestone, shaped in a manner to adapt itself for hafting (*cf.* the quartzite hammer in Plate XXII.); it has been in use, as the end is somewhat crushed.

Fig. 4. An unusually large and crudely made axe-head, or two-handed chopper, with sharp cutting edge; the butt end has been purposely left unfinished, to add to the weight of the implement.

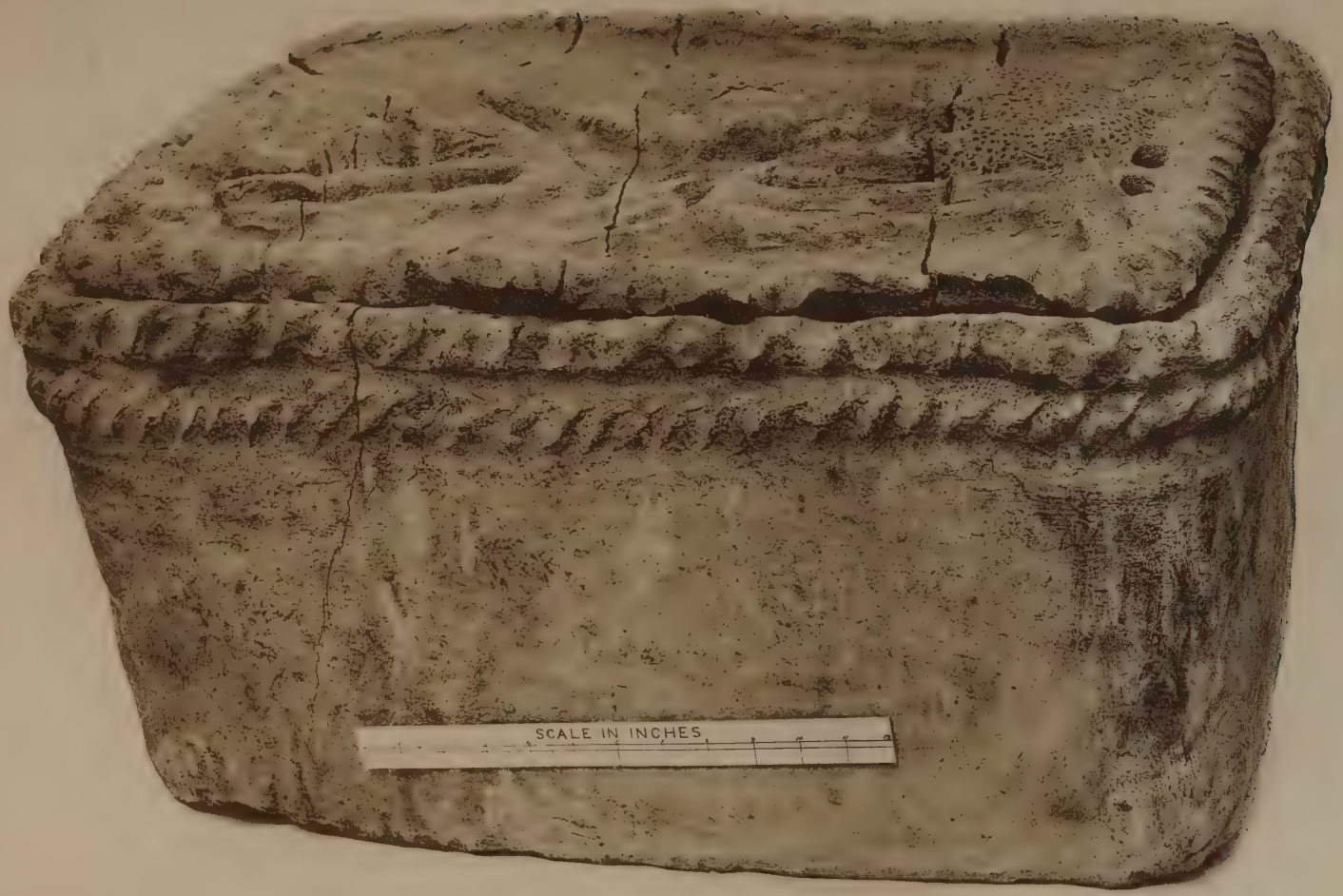
Fig. 5. A boldly flaked, narrow flint object, equally convex on both sides, resembling Fig. 2 in purport. It has evidently been made of older material, as deeply patinated flakings still remain on one side of the handle, not unlike the patina on implements of the palæolithic age.

Implements of stone were in use in Egypt, side by side with those made of bronze, as late as the Twelfth Dynasty, but the art of fine flaking and finishing had already died out. Plate XXII. shows a crudely-made double-hafted quartzite hammer, attached to the handles by means of raw-hide thongs. It was probably used as a pounder for breaking up softer stone, when the art of masonry had already been introduced. One end has marks of wear, and some fine white grit still adheres. It is hafted in a very ingenious and simple manner; the thongs cross the two handles and hammer-

PLATE XIV

PRE-DYNASTIC SARCOPHAGUS

See p. 28


SCALE IN INCHES

head in such a way that when the handles are pressed together their grip on the hammer-head tightens. It was found in a tomb at Nagâda, in a perfect state of preservation, and is the only one of its kind known in Egypt. It belongs probably to one of the early dynasties of the Ancient Kingdom.

In Plate XXIII. is illustrated a set of stone implements of the Ancient Kingdom period, mostly of the Celt types.

Fig. 1. An unusually large implement made of dark granite, resembling a crudely shaped celt let into a spherical handle. It has a broad, obtuse cutting edge, and is almost round in the waist.

Fig. 2. A celt-shaped implement with two shoulders and a shallow groove cut at the butt end. It has an obtuse cutting edge, is crudely finished, and partly ground smooth.

Fig. 3. A beautifully shaped celt in dark-green stone, well finished, with a polished and sharp cutting edge. In shape and appearance it does not differ from the modern Iroquois tomahawk.

Fig. 4. A small celt of diorite, showing marks of chipping all over, with a well-polished and sharp cutting edge.

Fig. 5. A small chisel-shaped implement of the same material as Fig. 4, well-finished, although not polished, with a sharp cutting edge.

Fig. 6. An interesting type of a flat axe-shaped implement, smoothly polished, with a small lion's head carved on either side of the butt end; it has an obtuse cutting edge, and narrows in the middle. It is made of a pink-coloured calcareous substance, with veins of a slightly darker colour.

Fig. 7. A small celt made of a dark yellow-coloured flint, smoothly polished, with a sharp cutting edge.

Fig. 8. A very small and extremely rare type of wedge-shaped celt, made of pale-green jadeite, well polished, with a sharp cutting edge. The above were all found in the Thebaid district, like most of the other implements illustrated in the preceding plates.[1]

Monumental architecture in Egypt is to be traced to the religious belief in the resurrection of the body, or of man's "double," called Ka, a shadowy spiritual being, that nevertheless needed material substance. The pre-dynastic tombs, with their provision of pottery,

[1] The foregoing plates are reproduced from photographs, by permission of the Museum of Practical Archæology, Luxor.

stone implements, and food, gradually developed during the dynastic periods, and were subsequently enlarged into *masbatas* by the ruling classes, and by the kings into pyramids containing a better and more artistic outfit for the Ka. These pyramids and the temples throughout the country dating from the same age show a surprising grasp of the problems of engineering and architecture.

Many illustrations and descriptions have been published of the Great Pyramid of Cheops, so that only a short reference to it here will suffice. The photograph in Plate XXIV. was taken by the writer by moonlight, the Sphinx being seen in the foreground, to the left of the pyramid. The original base of the Great Pyramid was 800 feet in breadth, and its height about 480 feet.

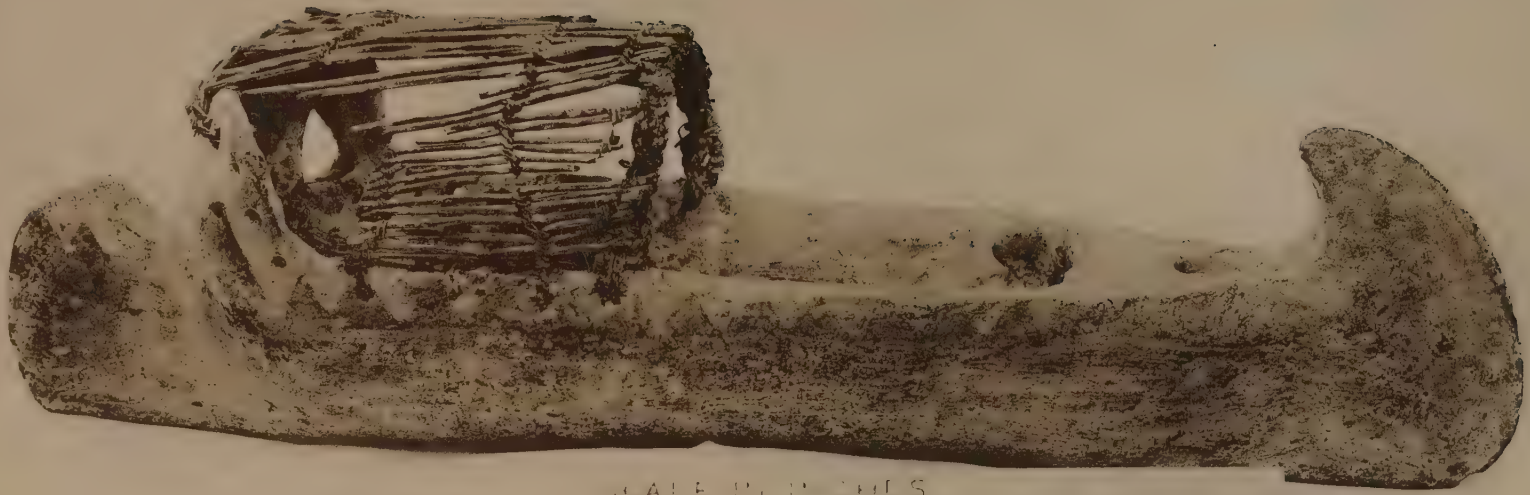
Herodotus gives us some account of the building of this historic monument by a king of the Fourth Dynasty, who reigned *circa* 3700 B.C. It was thirty years in building, he says, including the making of roads to the quarry. Many of the blocks of granite weighed hundreds of tons, and some 100,000,000 cubic feet of material were used; 100,000 men worked in three-monthly shifts. It is interesting to calculate roughly, on this basis, the population of Egypt at the time. Facts and figures given by Herodotus are not always reliable; he did not check all information, as in the case of the numbers of Xerxes' army, and the statement supposed to have been made to him by the priests that the underground chambers in the Great Pyramid were connected with the Nile by a canal; these are known now to be pure fiction. On the statement of Herodotus it is estimated that 400,000 men were engaged on one monument. Taking into account the families of these men, and calculating the whole population on this scale, we get an aggregate of many millions. Four thousand years later, during the Roman period, we hear of a population of eight millions. From 1834 to 1876 the population increased from two millions to 5,250,000, and to-day again it is over ten millions.

The temples and tombs of the early dynasties were decorated, but after the Fourth Dynasty they began to be covered with in-

PLATE XV

PRE-DYNASTIC MODEL OF A SACRED BARK

See p. 28



scriptions and paintings. About 3500 B.C. art gradually evolved a more naturalistic treatment of the human figure.

Engraving, metallurgy, moulding and casting in bronze, must have come into use very early in Egyptian history, bronze being known to the pre-dynastic people, and iron has been found in the oldest pyramid. A few years ago Mr. Quibell found a perfect statue of Pepi I., larger than life-size, made in two sections; and I discovered in Upper Egypt a still earlier bronze figure of a seated king, nine and a quarter inches high, with a delicately ornamented collar and girdle.[1] From the treatment, general style, and shape of the head, ears, and nose of this figure, it can be attributed almost unhesitatingly to the period of the first dynastic kings.

No doubt the wealth and consequent indolence of the Egyptians and the Ancient Kingdom brought effeminacy in their train, and made the people an easy prey to a hardier race. To some extent, also, religious quarrels must have played an important part in the general disturbance and gradual decline in the prosperity of the country, which closed this period. At all events, with the conquest of the Memphian and Herakleopolitan dynasties by a Theban king towards the close of the Tenth Dynasty, and the union of Upper and Lower Egypt under one government and religion, the Ancient Kingdom came to an end about 3000 B.C.

It was some 5000 years ago that the Egyptians had brought their civilisation to so high a pitch. At this time Europe was still living in the twilight of the neolithic age. At the time when the inhabitants of the Nile Valley were raising these mighty pyramids, and graving on the walls of their tombs the sculptures which have preserved the record of their religion and their life, the thoughts which animated their living brains, and the hopes which they held for their dead, the men of Great Britain were still in a state of semi-savagery, still dwelling in caves from which they had driven out animals only wilder than themselves, still roughly scratching

[1] Now on loan at the Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow.

on bone with sharp flints those rude figures which were all of art they knew. Such people still exist—the Esquimaux, the races of the northern parts of Siberia, and the tribes of North America. By them we may judge how high a level of civilisation must have been reached by a people whose monuments are the heaped-up pyramids and the inscrutable Sphinx.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA

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FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA

With the Middle Kingdom began a new era of progress and culture for Egypt. Under the kings of the Eleventh Dynasty from Thebes a fresh life and energy came into the minds of the people. This stage of civilisation came to its perfection in the time of the Twelfth Dynasty. The literature of the early Middle Kingdom was very prolific, and marked a distinct advance on that of the earlier periods. It is worth noting that no reference is to be found in this literature to the deluge of the Bible, nor is any mention of that cataclysm to be found in Egypt at any time. On the contrary, we find the people suffering from lack of water when the quantity of the annual overflow of the Nile was deficient.

In the religion of this epoch the goddess Hathor begins to play a prominent part as the tutelary goddess of Thebes, being held in particular veneration by the kings of the Eleventh Dynasty, who bore the name of Menthu-hetep, and by the people under their rule. The doctrine of the divine origin of the soul seems to have been formulated at this time. But in general the religious creeds of Egypt were wanting in method and less definite than the moral observances, which kept the people remarkably pure in their life.

The great architectural skill which we have seen exemplified under the Old was continued into the Middle Empire. The temples, pyramids, obelisks, and the labyrinths at Fayyûm gave occasion for the exercise of this art, and preserve the record of it wherever they still exist. For a number of the pyramids and obelisks still stand, though all the temples are long since a mass of ruins.

Immediately on the close of the Twelfth Dynasty followed a period of anarchy, the country dividing itself up under the rule of several kings. And the final irruption of barbarians from the north-east, probably Semitic shepherd tribes from Syria, ended in the establishment of the "Hyksos" kings, and the ruin for a great space of time of the whole fabric of Egyptian civilisation.

These "Hyksos" worshipped Set, who was probably associated in the minds of the Egyptians with the god of evil. Their religion was of a totally different nature from that they found established, and they did what they could to destroy the temples of the older faith. But they were impotent to root out the national customs and the old religion, which kept head against them mainly in Upper Egypt, where their power seems to have been weakest.

Eventually, after a few hundred years, an indigenous government came into being again, and the Hyksos passed out of the national life. Under the new régime art and literature took up once again the thread of development.

The temples of the period were usually painted inside with religious subjects in bright colours, which in many cases still remain perfectly fresh. Professor Naville, with the aid of Messrs. Hall, Ayrton, Currelly, and others, investigated some few years ago, under the auspices of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, the ruins on the site of the funeral temple of Menthu-hetep Neb-Kheru-Rā of the Eleventh dynasty at Dêr-al-Baharî. The temple itself was entirely destroyed, but if we may judge from the numerous beautifully painted and moulded fragments of bas-reliefs in limestone discovered in the course of the excavations, it must originally have been a very perfect work of art.

A poem, called the "Song of the Harper," written during this period under a king of the name of Antef, expresses sentiments remarkably like those of the book of Ecclesiastes and of some of the Epicurean philosophers. In one passage the singer bids us remember that "all things are transitory," and advises men "to be merry, make love, cast away care, and enjoy happiness until the

PLATE XVI

POTTERY OF THE LATER PRE-DYNASTIC PERIOD

See p. 29

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day comes when all must leave for a new land which loveth peace." Four thousand years later the same feelings find utterance in a poem written in Australia by an author who had probably never heard of the "Song of the Harper."

"Said a human soul to a human heart:
'I live for ever, but dust thou art,
And despite the fires that within thee burn,
To-morrow thou shalt die, to dust return.'

The heart replied to the soul and said:
'Though alive to-day and to-morrow dead,
My day of life is worth to me
Thine endless years of eternity,
For I love, I laugh, I sin, and say,
What does it matter, the soul must pay.'"

About 2000 B.C. the kings of Upper Egypt seem to have begun to reassert themselves, and a few centuries later we find Aāhmes I.[1] leading an attack upon the stronghold of the Hyksos in Lower Egypt. He evidently drove them from the country, and established the New Kingdom under the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, 1700 B.C.

This Aāhmes, the liberator, restored order in his sorely distracted country, and helped to consolidate the kingdoms under one seat of government at Thebes. The New Kingdom which he initiated lasted for some 1300 years. In those years Egypt reached the height of prosperity, power, and splendour, only to decline and fall, until Alexander the Great finally put an end to her independent existence.

Of the architecture of this period many monuments remain. Aāhmes, Amenhetep, Thotmes, Queen Hatshepset, Seti, and Rameses built large and splendid temples at Thebes, which at that time included the modern Luxor and Karnak as well as the site which we now call Thebes, and at many other places throughout the

[1] This king is confounded by some authorities with Mer-en-Ptah, the oppressor of the Israelites, and the Pharaoh of Exodus, who lived a dynasty later.

country. The wonderful royal tombs hewn out of the living rock in the "Valley of the Kings" also date from this time. The period of fullest splendour was in the reign of Thotmes III., about 1600 B.C., when not only the whole Nile Valley and Nubia, but also all civilised Western Asia up to the Euphrates, submitted to the Egyptian sway. An obelisk originally made for this king, to which Rameses II. added his name and titles, now stands on the Thames embankment.

During the First Dynasty of the New Kingdom, the worship of the god Amen was introduced as the official state religion. The priests attempted to fuse it with the religion of the people, and the future theology of Egypt is deeply coloured with the beliefs and dogmas of this time.

All the arts progressed in the same degree. Thousands of bronze and stone figures of gods and priests have recently been found within the Karnak enclosure by M. Legrain, who conducts the exploration on behalf of the Cairo Museum, and show how far the sculptors and metal-workers of the New Kingdom had progressed in their art. In pottery, the exquisite turquoise blue invented during the first dynasties of the New Kingdom marks all its work. This beautiful colour, unique of its kind, is found throughout the art work of the period, on glazed pottery, on coloured glass, and on scarabs. But perhaps the most notable advance was made in the region of painting. In the great period under the Eighteenth Dynasty the naturalistic school reached a high state of development, and the art of picture-painting on canvas probably began at this time. Three years ago I had the good fortune to light upon the first painting of this kind found in Upper Egypt (see Plate XXV.), which I published in the April number of the *Connoisseur*, 1907. The painting belongs to the period of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when Egyptian art reached its summit of achievement. Its age is consequently some 3500 years. It was found in 1905 at Dêr-al-Baharî, in the neighbourhood of Thebes, a region where archæologists, both

PLATE XVII

PRE-DYNASTIC VASE OF DIORITE

See p. 29

SCALE IN INCHES

British and foreign, have done a good deal of work in recent years in excavating the temples and tombs. The subject is the adoration of the goddess Hathor by several male and female figures. Into the upper selvage of the linen cloth, on which it is painted, looped fringes, in which pieces of the suspending string still remain, have been worked after manufacture. No doubt it was used, like the Gobelin tapestry of modern times, to hang upon a wall. For these reasons, and from the names contained in the hieroglyphics, it is supposed that the painting originally adorned a temple or an offertory shrine in the tomb of a family of considerable power and distinction. In one of the tombs at Thebes may be seen a wall painting representing the investure of Huŷ with the seal of his office; the name appears also in this canvas. It is interesting to note, in passing, that among the discoveries of Messrs. Naville and Hall (see their "Catalogue of Exhibits from Dêr-al-Baharî," 1904–1905) occurs the name of one artist, Mertisen, in the reign of Menthu-hetep Neb-hapet Ra; this is the earliest mention of an artist, and it is curious that he is especially attached to this region. The date, however, although it connects him with one of the kings represented in the painting of this period, is earlier by at least 1000 years than the time of its actual execution.

But we know nothing of the character of any earlier painting on any other material than clay, wood, stone, or papyrus, either in Egypt, where the natural dryness of the climate has preserved so many antiquities, or elsewhere. Indeed, the picture holds an isolated position in art history, without any forerunners or immediate successors. For, with a few exceptions, such as mummy wrappings, wooden coffins, in which woven fabric is used as a preservative of the stucco, and a few Greek fragments from Kertch in the Crimea, of which I shall speak later, the next in date to this of all paintings on cloth—examples which, indeed, have hitherto passed for the earliest—belong to a time relatively modern, about sixteen centuries later, and well within the Christian or Coptic period of the first century.

Most modern writers on Art agree in placing the origin of sculpture in Egypt, but that of painting remains a matter of controversy. Some assign it to Egypt or Babylonia; others say the Greeks invented it. In reality, however, the question may be ignored, for drawing was known to the most primitive peoples, and the creative principle underlying art must have developed independently at different places and periods of the world's history.

It is impossible, however, to believe that the art of picture-painting upon canvas, which had thus developed in Egypt at the time when this work was executed, died in its vigorous infancy during the Eighteenth Dynasty, or that the immense interval which divides it from the surviving successors can be explained except by the destruction of the pictures painted in the intervening centuries. It is true that the revolutions which commenced in Egypt about the eleventh century B.C., and subsequent raids and invasions in the eighth and later centuries by Nubian, Syrian, and Persian barbarians of iconoclastic habits, must have done much to check art and the progress of culture, as well as to destroy by fire and sword such works upon fragile material as were not previously buried in tombs or under débris of buildings; but the analogy of the allied arts is enough to show the progress which must have been made in painting in the classical world during this long period. Moreover, on the transplantation of civilisation to Greece, we have definite records of the extent to which painting, as well as sculpture and architecture, advanced, although the actual works of the Greek painters are lost. In its earlier stages Greek painting, upon whatever material, might be expected to resemble the decorative style of vase-ornament, a conjecture which is absolutely verified by the discovery, mentioned above, of some fragments of the cover of a sarcophagus (παραπέτασμα), Greek work of the fifth century B.C., near Kertch, the ancient Panticapæum, in which this style is well exemplified. Afterwards, as it progressed, we learn from Pliny and others that the representations of shadows and of the effect of movement, and greater softness of expression, were successfully

PLATE XVIII

POTTERY OF THE LATER PRE-DYNASTIC PERIOD

See p. 29

SCALE IN INCHES

developed, till the imitation of nature was held to have culminated in the famous curtain of Parrhasius (400 B.C.), a work so realistic that it actually deceived the painter Zeuxis, whose own work had been sufficiently life-like to deceive animals. The prices, moreover, which Plutarch and Pliny record as obtained by such painters as Nicias, Timomachus, Melanthius, and others for a single work range as high as from sixty to two hundred talents (£12,960 to £43,200).

For the perpetual preservation, however, of perishable and fragile materials, the conditions of climate in Greece, Italy, Crimea, Assyria and Asia Minor are so unfavourable that, except where something has been saved for us by the paradoxical agency of earthquakes or volcanic outpourings, it is to Egypt that we must chiefly look for fresh discoveries; there, perhaps, some yet unrifled tomb or temple shrine may reward a fortunate explorer with the means to bridge over the gap of so many centuries.

A fundamental difference, no doubt, distinguishes Egyptian from Greek art in so far as the motive force of the former came from authority, the temples and tombs to be decorated being, as we are led to suppose, under the exclusive control of high ecclesiastical officials, with whom tradition was paramount law, whereas in Greece art developed freely and was practised for its own sake. None the less, the picture now in question retains its unique importance as the only known starting-point of painting on canvas, apart from its actual artistic merit and independently of the interest attaching to its great antiquity.

The painting in question represents seven upright figures turned to the left, carrying bunches of grapes and flowers. According to the conventions which are necessarily adopted in the absence of perspective, the attitude of the male figure which stands foremost may be taken to represent that which those who follow are about to take up in their turn. He seems to have deposited as an offering the lotus flower which he has been carrying, and stands with both hands raised and palms turned towards the goddess in the attitude

of adoration, as is the practice of Arabs in their devotions at the present day. He wears, like the other male figure, a plain loin-cloth, but has no ornaments. The costume of the ladies is graceful in its extreme simplicity. A loose-hanging white garment depends from the shoulders, but is shaped at the waist to show the figure to advantage, and there is some attempt at a train. The head-dress is of the Eighteenth Dynasty fashion. It consists of a long, curly black wig, covering the ears and encircled at the top by a coloured snood. The general effect is not unlike the modern style of tiring the head used by Georgian ladies in the Caucasus. Some of the figures display much grace both in dress and posture, and the representation, although conventional, shows in this respect distinct traces of an effort at naturalism. Facing them in the sacred bark, richly canopied and surrounded by papyrus rising out of the water, stands the goddess Hathor in the shape of a cow suckling a kneeling figure resembling that of King Menthu-hetep Neb-hapet Rā of the Eleventh Dynasty, who is also depicted upright in front of the goddess. The King's cartouche and the title of the goddess appear above the bows of the bark, and the other hieroglyphics refer to the subject of the painting itself, and also contain personal names. The whole is beautifully ornamented in a variety of very brilliant pigments, blue and red predominating, and wax is apparently used in the composition of the colours. The following is a translation of the hieroglyphics:—

"Hathor the Lady of Heaven in the midst of Thebes."

"The good God Neb-hapet Rā."

"Adoration to the Lord of the two Lands, bowing down in the midst of Thebes, that she may grant life, prosperity and health, fitness for service, favour and love to the Spirits of the favourites of Hathor, Tcha-nefer, his sister, lady of the house Mer-nubt, her mother Sent, his son Huy, his son . . . (name omitted), his own beloved son Mahuia, her beloved daughter Thet-Amentet."

King Menthu-hetep Neb-hapet Rā, as we have seen, preceded the Eighteenth Dynasty by considerably more than a thousand years, but was traditionally held for a long time after his death to

PLATE XIX

BONE, IVORY, AND FLINT OBJECTS OF THE LATER PRE-DYNASTIC PERIOD

See p. 30

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SCALE IN INCHES
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be a medium of devotion between the people and Hathor, who was the tutelary goddess of Thebes. The painting measures 18 by 13 inches.

Continuing the work of excavation at Dêr-al-Baharî, Thebes, Professor Naville discovered, early in 1906, an undisturbed shrine with the goddess Hathor in the form of a life-size cow, both of which have since been removed to the Cairo Museum.

I will quote the announcement of this find from the *Times*, February 24, 1906:—

> "This is the first time that a goddess has been found undisturbed in her sanctuary. Besides, no cow has ever been found of such size and superb workmanship. The modelling of the animal is exquisite, and the distinctive characters of the Egyptian cattle of the present day are reproduced."

The chapel was dedicated during the Eighteenth Dynasty to Hathor, the tutelary goddess of Thebes, styled, "the Goddess of Thebes and Lady of Heaven"; the goddess herself is carved in limestone, painted reddish-brown, with black star-shaped spots. She is suckling a little boy, who is again represented as a grown man, under her neck. The cartouche behind the head is that of Amenophis II.

Both the chapel and painting on cloth, described above, belong to one period, and must have been closely associated in their respective uses. The subjects and designs are analogous, even to the colour in which they are painted, and, just as the goddess is seen in the canvas stepping out of the reeds of papyrus, so she is depicted in bright fresh colours in the mountain shrine.

Several other paintings representing the same goddess, either in human form seated upon a throne, or in the shape of a cow, have since been discovered also in this neighbourhood, and most of them are now in my collection. In 1906 I came across an equally interesting find, consisting of two baby shirts of linen, probably the earliest of the kind that have been discovered either in Egypt or elsewhere; the similarity of the subject and the general style of

decoration, lead me to infer that they belong to this period, in which case they must be about 3500 years old. They are reproduced in Plate XXVI.

One is sleeveless and has a plain back; on the front is painted a broad collar, and below is a representation of Hathor in human form, seated with a table of offerings and two lines of inscription before her: "Made by the lady of the house of Mut(iwia?), her daughter Ari (——?), her daughter Nefertiti." This one measures 9 inches in width and $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

The other is larger, and has sleeves with knotting strings intact; the back is plain, the front painted with a necklace, and below on the right there is a faint representation of the Hathor cow, wearing disk and feathers, and coming out of the mountain towards a table of offerings, behind which stands a woman. An inscription reads: "Made by the mistress of the house. . . ." Measurements: 19 inches across sleeves; 13 inches in length.

These interesting relics were, no doubt, offerings to the goddess in grateful recognition of safe childbirth. The beautifully painted and richly decorated collar in one, and the necklace in the other, we find woven and embroidered in wool thousands of years later; they are, moreover, important because they give us a certain starting-point in a known period from which we can trace the evolution of this particular kind of industry.

Following up these discoveries, I came across another painting at Thebes: Plate XXVII. This is a fragment of finely woven linen, much damaged by insects or some other agency. It would rather seem to be by the former, for only the outer sides around the centre have been disfigured; the centre itself, no doubt, being treated with white groundwork paint, contains some unsavoury mineral composition.

The subject is a man seated within a narrow black border or frame before a table of offerings; above him is the inscription: "An offering of everything good and pure for the spirit of the

PLATE XX

OBJECTS OF ORNAMENT, &c., OF THE LATER PRE-DYNASTIC PERIOD

See p. 30

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SCALE IN INCHES

Osirian Hori the justified." The border measures 11 inches at its base, with sides inclined inwards $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches high.

The work is of a later period than the Hathor paintings, probably of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Its general style shows distinct artistic merits. The discovery of these objects gives us good ground for hoping that others may be exhumed some day from other tombs or débris to make clear for us the line of evolution between the Eighteenth Dynasty art and that of the early Christian era.

These evidences show us very clearly that the worship of Hathor had retained a strong hold upon the people, by the side of the cult of the great God Amen of Thebes. The long list of their gods also included the earlier triads, more particularly that of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. All of these gods had beautiful temples and shrines of their own, richly decorated inside with religious subjects, and on the exterior walls with representations of historical events.

The literature of this period is of less absorbing interest. The ecclesiastical literature is disappointing, on the whole, and lacking in dignity of style; but a few inscriptions and papyri are of greater importance.

Of the more interesting historical records left cut in stone, we may select for particular notice a poem by Pen-ta-urt, the Poet Laureate, 1400 B.C., on the walls of the temple at Luxor, celebrating the victory of Rameses II. over the Hittites. The vast majority are recitations of the prowess of kings in war and the victories of Egyptian armies in foreign lands. Several of these speak of the marvellous spoil brought to enrich the treasury of Amen-Rā at Thebes. In 1887 a large correspondence between Kings of Syria and Mesopotamia and Amen-hetep III., the King of Egypt, about 1500 B.C., written on clay tablets in cuneiform characters, was found at Tel el-Amarna; it is now scattered among the various museums at Cairo, in Europe and America.

In fiction a good story exists of a poor peasant whose donkey was

stolen. It relates how the judge caused the trial to continue several days in order to enjoy the wisdom of the poor man.

The moral conceptions of the people of the day were lofty; they conceived of Truth as a straight line called Maāt, any deviation from which was sin; some of the aphorisms attributed to Kaqemna are full of common sense, and many of their songs and hymns are dedicated to beautiful ideals, and display a spirit of resignation.

The people were law-abiding, but so far none of the codes of law are known; such codes certainly existed, and were administered by priests, as is ordained in the Book of the Dead; there we find a number of crimes and their fit punishments detailed, as in the Koran for the Arabs of a later date.

There are some interesting records relating to astronomy, anatomy, surgery and medicine, in which the early Egyptians seem to have made great advances. Neither were pleasures neglected, for we find music and dancing represented throughout the country by numerous illustrations, in which the harp and lyre, as well as the drum or tom-tom, the cymbals and the plectrum, all figure prominently.

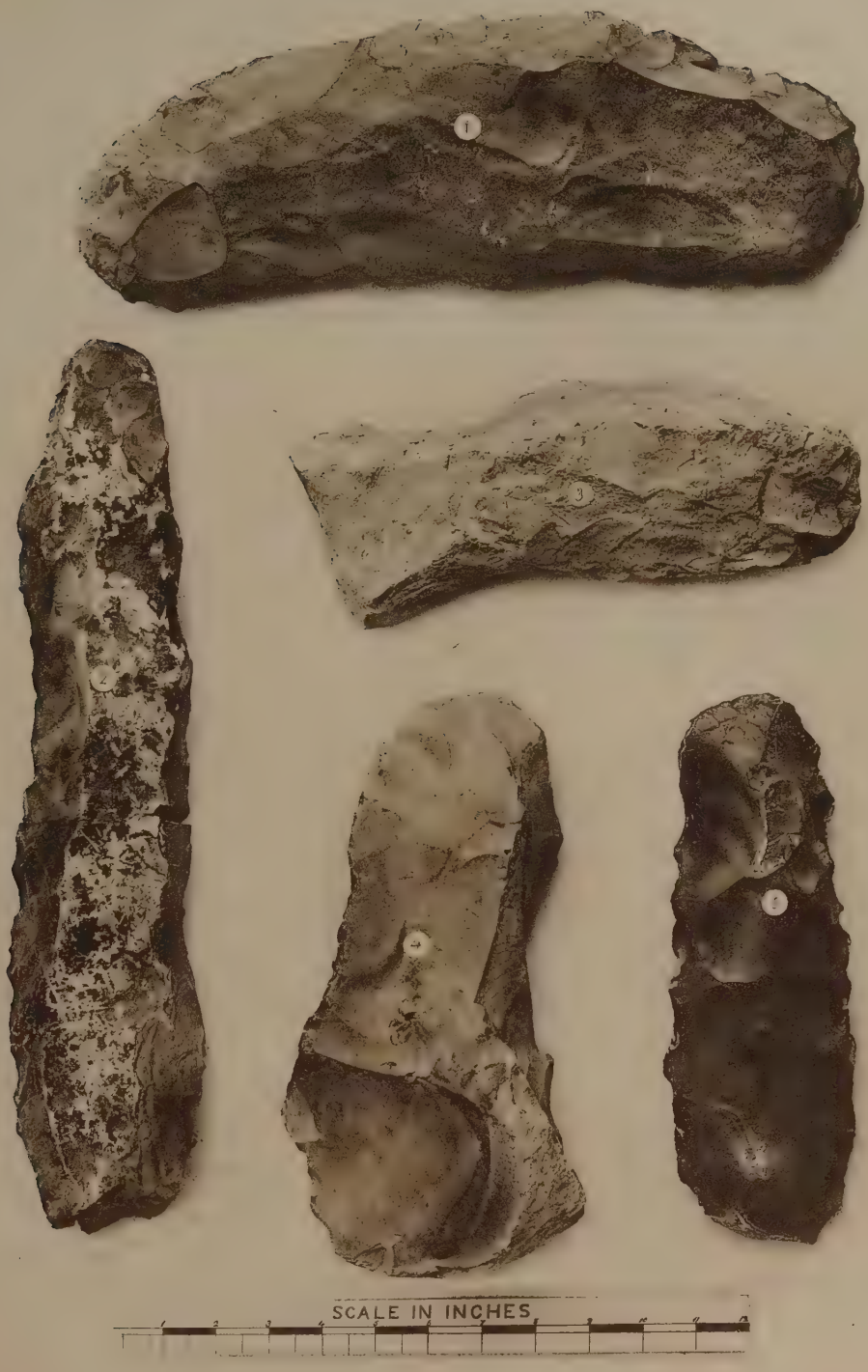
Trade and barter in kind was the custom among the Egyptians, as with all primitive and patriarchal people, and money is unknown until the advent of the more sophisticated Greeks about 700 B.C., whose methods and standard of honesty necessitated the giving of a State guarantee to certain weights in electrum, gold, and silver, in the form of a "hall mark," to enable them to pass in international trade; from this a regular system of coinage would easily develop.

The frequent and successful wars waged in Syria and Western Asia brought many prisoners as slaves to Egypt. The "Children of Israel" were no doubt among these. But the fertility of the soil may have attracted others also. Moses is mentioned in connection with Heliopolis; where he studied the mysteries of Egyptian Arts and Science, Pithom, and various wells and shrines in the Delta and Sinai Peninsula. And Joseph, "the Interpreter of Dreams," rose to a high position and influence in the service of the Pharaoh. Rameses II. is credited with

PLATE XXI

FIRST DYNASTY FLINT IMPLEMENTS

See p. 36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SCALE IN INCHES

having been the greatest oppressor of the Jews, and King Mer-en-Ptah is thought to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus drowned in the Red Sea, although his mummy has recently been discovered in one of the royal tombs in the "Valley of the Kings."

In 1871, Abd-el Rassul Ahmed Abd-el Rassul, a native of Thebes, discovered a shaft near the foot of the mountain at Dêr-al-Baharî. When opened up, he found it led into a gallery and a set of subterranean chambers, containing the most important find ever made in Egypt of priceless treasures and about thirty coffins with royal cartouches. These turned out to be the mummies, amongst others, of Kings Aahmes, Thotmes I., II., and III., Rameses I., II., and III., and Seti, now in the Cairo Museum. The finder was imprisoned and flogged, but later on set free.

He will be seen in Plate XXVIII. seated near the mouth of the shaft itself. The day this view was photographed, Abd-el Rassul conducted the writer to the shaft, and was so overcome by emotions and memories of the event itself that he fainted, and it was with great difficulty that he was propped up sufficiently to be taken. It was his first visit since that great event, when he cleared the shaft and opened up the passage, which led into the subterranean chambers, thirty-eight years ago.

He is still alive, and nearly ninety years old, and dependent on charity; his mother died a few months ago at the age of 120. Her picture will be seen in the centre of the group in Plate XXIX., where four generations of the Abd-el Rassul family are portrayed, viz. his mother, Fendia, in the middle, he himself on her left, and his daughter and granddaughter on the right-hand side of the old lady. The group was taken in front of an Eighteenth-Dynasty tomb at Thebes, occupied by this family and their ancestors since the twelfth century. It is hewn out of the living rock, and consists of several chambers, but has only one door, which can be seen in the plate behind the group. There are several of these tombs occupied by the natives in the vicinity, and they make very

good dwellings, being perfectly dry and much cooler than the average house would be in the summer.

The wealth of Egypt during the reign of the first six known kings and a queen of the Eighteenth Dynasty became fabulous, owing to the enormous amount of treasure brought home by the kings and armies from foreign lands. Thebes, being the metropolis, benefited greatly by this influx of wealth, its temples increasing gradually in numbers and magnificence.

Thebes, which lies some five hundred and seventy miles due south from Alexandria, is no doubt one of the most ancient cities in Egypt. From the wealth of palæolithic and later flint implements found in the surrounding country, as mentioned in the previous chapter, it may be assumed that it was also the home of primitive man. It is said to have been founded by King Menas. The name given to it by the Copts was ⲡⲁⲡⲉ; the modern name Luxor (El-Kusûr El-Haggag) was given to it by the Arabs, and signifies "the Palaces of the Pilgrim," a very appropriate designation for a city so adorned with stately temples and monuments. "El-Haggag," the Pilgrim, was added to the name during the twelfth century after the popular sheikh who lies buried in a tomb built on the débris within the old temple. His descendants still live at Luxor, and the tomb is constantly guarded by them.

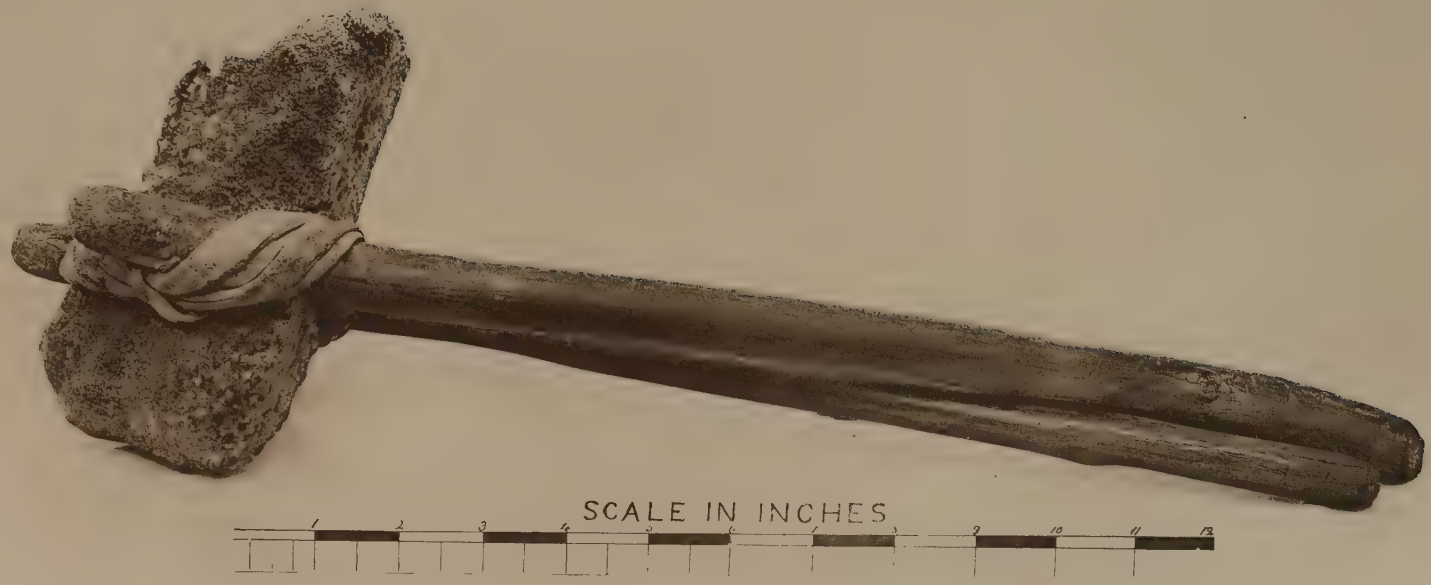
But from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Dynasties, and even considerably later, Thebes was the name of the whole metropolis, which included not only the modern Luxor and Karnak, but also the temples and districts now occupied by the villages Dêr-al-Bahari, Drah Abu'l-Nekkah, and Kurna, situated on the western bank of the river, commonly known as the "Theban" side. In size, therefore, it was equal to any one of the largest modern Continental cities.

The two beautiful rows of papyrus columns of the Luxor temple are shown in Plate XXX., and from these it can be imagined how beautiful the rest of the temple must have been. There are a great

PLATE XXII

QUARTZITE HAMMER OF THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD

See p. 36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number of lotus-shaped columns still standing, and parts of the walls at the extreme end of the temple, from which this view was taken.

Although most of its splendour had already disappeared before the days of the Ptolemies, Thebes still remained a wonderful place when Diodorus visited it about 57 B.C.; he writes: "Busiris built the city, and the Egyptians call it Diospolis, the Greeks Thebes; it was 140 stades (about twelve miles) in circuit, and adorned with magnificent temples and stately public buildings to admiration; he built all the private houses, four and some five storeys high, and made it not only the most beautiful city in Egypt, but of any in the world. The fame, therefore, of the wealth and grandeur of the city was so spread abroad, that the poet Homer speaks of it. Although some say that it had not 100 gates, there were many large pylons to the temples, whence the city was called Hecatompylus, 100 gates. It is certain that they had 20,000 chariots of war; there were 100 stables all along the river from Memphis to Thebes towards Lybia, each of which was capable of stabling two hundred horses, ruins of which are still visible. We have it related that not only this king, but the succeeding princes, made it their business to beautify this city; there was no city under the sun adorned with so many and stately monuments of gold, silver, and ivory, and numerous colossi and obelisks, cut out of one stone. There were four temples to be admired for beauty and greatness, the most ancient of which was thirteen furlongs in circuit (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, probably modern Karnak) and forty-five cubits high; it had a wall of twenty-four feet broad. The ornaments of this temple were in accordance with its magnificence both in cost and workmanship. The material has continued to our time, but the gold and silver and ornaments of precious stones were carried away by the Persians, when Cambyses burnt the temples of Egypt. They say there are wonderful tombs of ancient kings, which for state and grandeur exceed anything that can be achieved at this day. The Egyptian priests say that there are forty-seven of these tombs in their sacred registers, but in the

reign of Ptolemy Lagus seventeen only remain, many of which were already destroyed when I went there."[1]

But we have only to look at the wonderful enclosure of temples and monuments at Karnak, and some of the other temples still standing at Luxor and on the Theban side of the river, to realise in a degree the past material splendour of a city that was once the greatest and wealthiest metropolis in the world.

Plate XXXI., taken by moonlight, gives a view of the sacred lake within the Karnak enclosure. The ruins of the great hall can be seen in the centre, and the tallest obelisk in Egypt on the right of the plate.[2]

The crafty sway of the priesthood increased with the increasing wealth of the temples, and the power and influence of the king Amenhetep IV., a weak ruler, declined until, forced to transfer the seat of his government to a new site, he built Khut-aten, a city near the modern Tel el-Amarna. Here he endeavoured to revive the former cult of the sun-god Aten, in opposition to that of Amen. But the priests were too powerful, and soon after the death of the king his followers reverted to the faith of Amen at Thebes again, and the worship of the sun-god was abandoned.

Amongst these ceaseless intrigues and dissensions, the power of the priesthood was gradually coming to a height, and when Rameses XII. died, about 1100 B.C., Herr-Heru, the high-priest, usurped the throne. From this time onward a general decay set in, and literature and art shared in the universal decadence. The old hieratic form of writing grew more cursive and abbreviated until it degenerated into demotic, the writing of the people (Greek, δῆμος). Soon after, the country divided under two dynasties, one usurped by the priests of Thebes and the other headed by Kings of Tanis in Lower Egypt. During the Twenty-third Dynasty, 776 B.C., we find that the tyrannical

[1] An abridged translation by Booth.

[2] The last four views are reproduced from photographs by permission of the Luxor Trading Company, Luxor.

PLATE XXIII

STONE IMPLEMENTS OF THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD

See p. 37

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priest-kings were obliged to flee to Nubia, where they temporarily established themselves, but not before they had brought irretrievable ruin upon their country.

Apart from the consequences of the curse of ecclesiasticism, from which the country suffered, the wealth and geographical position of Egypt rendered it an easy prey to growing neighbours on all sides. To keep pace with the times, a fleet was built, which did good work during the Twentieth Dynasty, 1200 B.C. But this perhaps only increased the strain on the already enfeebled resources of the country. A few series of successes, we find, crowned the efforts of Shashank I., 966 B.C., in his raid on Jerusalem and conquests in Palestine. But the inroads and ravages of the Nubians, instigated by the exiled priesthood, soon compelled the Egyptians to concentrate all their forces in Egypt to repel these attacks. We next find the Nubians breaking down all opposition and subjugating the Egyptians, and a Nubian king on the throne in Egypt under the Twenty-fourth Dynasty, about 700 B.C.

The decline of the national power continued steadily after these events; Assyrians invaded the country, but we find them also driven out again, probably with the aid of foreign mercenaries. During the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, 666 B.C., under Pharaoh Hophra, the Pharaoh of the Bible, we hear of the employment of Greeks both in the fleet and the army, and of a successful expedition to help the King of Judah against Nebuchadnezzar of Babylonia.

The Egyptians seemed to have enjoyed a short interval of peace and prosperity until the reign of Psammetichus III., when the Persians under Cambyses invaded and conquered the country in 527 B.C.

The Persians at first harried Egypt with fire and sword, destroying everything but objects of gold, silver, and ivory, which they sent out of the country; but the next king, Darius I., assumed the rank and title of "King of Egypt," supported the native religious institutions, and helped to restore the welfare of the people and the prosperity of

the country. He was regarded as one of the greatest lawgivers of Egypt.

Nekht Heru-hebt, a native prince of Egypt, restored the independence of Lower Egypt for a time, but Nekht-neb-f, one of his successors, named Nektanebos by the Greeks, being once more defeated by the Persians, quietly fled to Nubia with all the treasure he could lay his hands on: thus ended the Thirtieth and last Dynasty of Egyptian kings. The Persians continued to rule the country a few years longer, until conquered by Alexander the Great, when he marched into Egypt, 332 B.C., and thereby closed the last chapter of the New Kingdom period.

In order to establish his authority firmly, Alexander, being a foreigner and wishing to follow the custom of former kings of Egypt, who ruled by divine right, determined to prove his own no less divine descent. For this purpose he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Jupiter Ammon in the desert of Sahara, where the god signified by word of mouth that Alexander was in reality his son. According to one legend, the last King of Egypt, Nektanebos, fled to Macedonia and became the father of Alexander.

Alexander built the seaport of Alexandria, which was named after him. After his death, Ptolemy, one of his generals, ruled the country on behalf of his sons. At their death Ptolemy Soter I. became the satrap and ruler of the country, and founder of the Ptolemaic Dynasty. Ptolemy made Alexandria his capital, and built a fine museum and the famous library. Euclid, the great mathematician, was born at Alexandria, and wrote his books on geometry about 300 B.C. Ptolemy Soter died in 283 B.C. He was succeeded by Ptolemy II., 287 B.C., who employed Manetho to write the earliest known history of Egypt. The chronologies based on this history have served until the present day as the only authentic record of its kings; wanting these, the numerous stelæ and inscriptions would have been a disconnected and unintelligible collection of facts. The most important of these stelæ is the Rosetta Stone (Plate

PLATE XXIV

THE GREAT PYRAMID AND THE SPHINX

See p. 38

XXXII.).[1] It was set up about the ninth year of the reign of Ptolemy V., Epiphanes, who ascended the throne in 205 B.C. The inscription is a decree of the priests setting forth that certain honours shall be paid to the King's statues in the temples of Egypt. It relates that the priesthood of Egypt had assembled at Memphis to celebrate a festival in honour of the proclamation by the King of his assumption of the sovereignty of the Empire, styled "the receiving of sovereignty by Ptolemy Epiphanes," and mentions moreover the good disposition of the King towards the gods, and how he offered revenues to the temples and remitted certain taxes of the people, made gifts to the Apis and Mnevis Bulls, &c.

But the historical facts recorded by this stele are of far less importance than the clue which it affords to the lost hieroglyphical writing, which had been forgotten at the time of its discovery more than a thousand years, and was now to be so unexpectedly restored. The substance of the decree is written in three different forms—the first, or upper part, in hieroglyphics; the second in demotic, the writing of the people in those days; and the third or bottom version in Greek, which gave the clue for the interpretation of the rest.

The hieroglyphic and hieratic writings continued with slight variation for more than four thousand years in Egypt, and only ceased as an official form of writing at the time of the Ptolemies, although it was known to priests and to men of learning as late as the fifth century A.D. The demotic survived the older form, but had to give way ultimately to Greek and Latin, and these older forms remained a dead letter until the nineteenth century.

The Rosetta Stone is of basalt, and was found by M. Boussard in 1799, near the site of the ancient city of Bolbitine, among the ruins of Fort St. Julien at Rosetta, from which place it takes its name. It came into the possession of Great Britain by treaty with the French in 1802, and is now in the British Museum.

[1] Reproduced from a photograph by permission of Messrs. W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

The rule of the Ptolemies down to Cleopatra VII., the last and celebrated Queen, is wanting in any remarkable events. With a country naturally rich and prosperous, Alexandria was celebrated for its commerce, and its fame as a seat of learning spread throughout the known world. During this period Euclid and Manetho, of whom we have spoken above, made their great contributions to science and history; Eratosthenes, the geographer and librarian, flourished; and Theocritus founded pastoral poetry in Alexandria. Many temples were built at Dendereh, Esneh, Edfu, Philæ, and Karnak. The distinctive feature of these temples is the remarkable predominance of religious subjects in the carvings and paintings. The religion of the Egyptians was not only honoured but well supported by the Greeks, and a new god, Serapis, introduced into its worship, although their general interpretation of morality was not an elevated one. The Greeks differed little from the previous conquerors of Egypt in their appropriation of the religion of the Egyptians, but they never assimilated the native elements.

They professed to believe for a time, when the worship of Osiris, together with Isis and Horus, stood in particular favour, in the resurrection of the dead through the medium of their Ka, and in everlasting life in the Kingdom of Osiris; but the natural scepticism of the Hellenistic Greeks revolted against so mystic a doctrine, and we find references to a future state as a "place of purposeless oblivion."

By the time the Roman power was beginning to make its influence felt in Asia and Egypt, the old religious ideas and ceremonies had worn threadbare, and no new and acceptable creed and doctrine as yet existed to replace the old. During this interregnum of faiths the bonds of moral obligation were slackened. Doubt and fear led to immorality and crime. The irresponsible domination of a foreign people in a rich and fertile subject land excited the bolder spirits to rebellion; and the social and moral revolution, for which the country was ripe, appeared more and more inevitable.

PLATE XXV

PAINTING ON CANVAS OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

See p. 46

Inland and up the Nile, where the native Egyptian element still prevailed, the people had not undergone the extreme transformation of the Alexandrians, and the little authentic information we have of them goes to prove that all the learning and science was not confined to the Greeks alone. Strabo, visiting Upper Egypt in 24 B.C., writes of certain "vestiges of the former magnitude of its temples," destroyed by Cambyses, and of the Memnonium and the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, where he found inscriptions stating that the Theban kings had once upon a time had an army numbering 1,000,000 men. Incidentally he says:—

"Concerning the priests there, they are for the most part astronomers and philosophers. The former compute the days, not by the moon, but by the Sun, introducing into the twelve months of thirty days each, five days every year. But in order to complete the whole year, because there is annually an excess of a part of a day, they form a period out of whole days and whole years, the supernumerary portions of which in that period, when collected together, amount to a day. They ascribe to Mercury (Thoth) all knowledge of this kind."[1]

In their habits and behaviour the people of Alexandria and the ruling classes generally were utterly demoralised. Debauchery and vice of every kind were the commonplaces of Alexandrian life, and murderous intrigues were of almost daily occurrence. Among the royal princes, brothers married their sisters, and, to secure their power, the rulers, if they escaped poison themselves, poisoned their wives, brothers, or nearest relatives, with little or no rebuke of conscience.

Rome, having conquered Greece and its dominions in the East, entered into an alliance with Egypt and later on assumed the tutelage, 49 B.C. When the Senate of Rome appointed Pompey guardian of Ptolemy XIV. and Cleopatra, he proceeded to Alexandria soon after his defeat at Pharsalia in 48, and was slain immediately on his arrival by the machinations of Ptolemy, who at the same time banished Cleopatra. Julius Cæsar thereupon came to Egypt to reinstate her.

Besieging Alexandria, he set fire to the ships in the harbour, and

[1] Falconer's translation.

as the flames spread they destroyed the museum and library, consisting, according to Seneca, of 400,000 books, or, if we prefer the computation of Ammianus Marcellinus, of 700,000. The Egyptian forces were defeated and Ptolemy XIV. drowned. Julius Cæsar appointed Ptolemy XV. co-regent with Cleopatra, but three years later Ptolemy was murdered by her orders, and Cæsarion, her son by Cæsar, named co-regent in his place.

After the return of Cæsar to Rome, and his murder in 44 B.C., Mark Antony, his successor, presented Cleopatra with 200,000 rolls obtained from the library of the King of Pergamum in Asia Minor, many of which were lodged in the temple of Cæsarion, begun by Julius Cæsar and finished by Antony, and the rest in the Serapium, called the "Daughter Library" by Epiphanius.

Plutarch and Shakespeare have familiarised the world with the story of Antony's life with Cleopatra, his dissensions with the young Octavianus, his final defeat at Actium in 31 B.C., and his death, followed by the suicide of Cleopatra. With the death of Cleopatra ended the Ptolemaic rule in Egypt. Henceforward it is only one of the richest of the Roman provinces.

CHAPTER IV

CHRISTIANITY IN EGYPT: THE COPTS, THEIR CHARACTER, THEOLOGY, AND ART

CHAPTER IV

CHRISTIANITY IN EGYPT: THE COPTS, THEIR CHARACTER, THEOLOGY, AND ART

EVENTS following upon the occupation of Egypt by the Romans and their introduction of a new foreign officialdom and priesthood, both equally antagonistic to their predecessors, helped to bring about a revolt of the people, with the consequence that the anarchy and demoralisation which had already made itself felt in Egypt now spread along the coast and into the neighbouring Roman provinces in Syria and elsewhere.

It was in this time of universal social disorganisation that Jesus of Nazareth, a Hebrew carpenter, rose against the prevailing immorality and injustice and began by example and precept to teach the necessity of a moral reform.

The way of life he preached was based upon lofty humanitarian precepts, simple and rational, and in many respects similar to the philosophic creeds of other great demagogues and lawgivers who had arisen in the East many centuries before his birth. A short sketch of the lives and main tenets of the most important of these teachers and philosophers will serve to place the mission of Jesus in its proper perspective.

Moses (derived from the Egyptian "Mo," water, and "she," delivered), of Hebrew origin, was born in Egypt sometime during the Eighteenth Dynasty, and according to the Biblical legend a daughter of one of the Pharaohs found him in the Nile.[1] When

[1] A similar story has been read on one of the numerous cuneiform tablets, now in the British Museum, discovered in the ruins of the Nineveh Library a few years ago.

Moses grew up he was educated in all the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Chaldean Sciences, Arts, and Religions.

He led his people away from the oppressions of Egypt, and on a mountain in the Sinai Peninsula he received the tradition slates, the Ten Commandments, a collection of elementary moral precepts, from the hand of Jehovah Himself.

Moses did not discover the faith in Jehovah, but during the forty years in the wilderness he acted as father, judge, priest, and seer of his people, laid the foundation of the Torah, the worship in connection with the Ark of the Covenant, and based the whole national existence on the monotheistic conception of Jehovah.[1]

Moses, then, was a great lawgiver and teacher, many of whose religious principles were borrowed from the Egyptians; there is a later legend of his assumption after death.

Solon, one of the seven wise men of Greece, himself a descendant of the Kings of Athens, flourished about 600 B.C., and made laws for the material and spiritual welfare and advancement of the people; he set them in the way of political freedom, and by his personal example taught them patriotism, courage, and truth. In the traditional accounts of him, great stress is laid on his travels in the East, in the course of which he visited Egypt, Cyprus, and Asia Minor. Something of the mysticism of the East is mingled with the practical wisdom of the Hellenes in his recorded utterances.

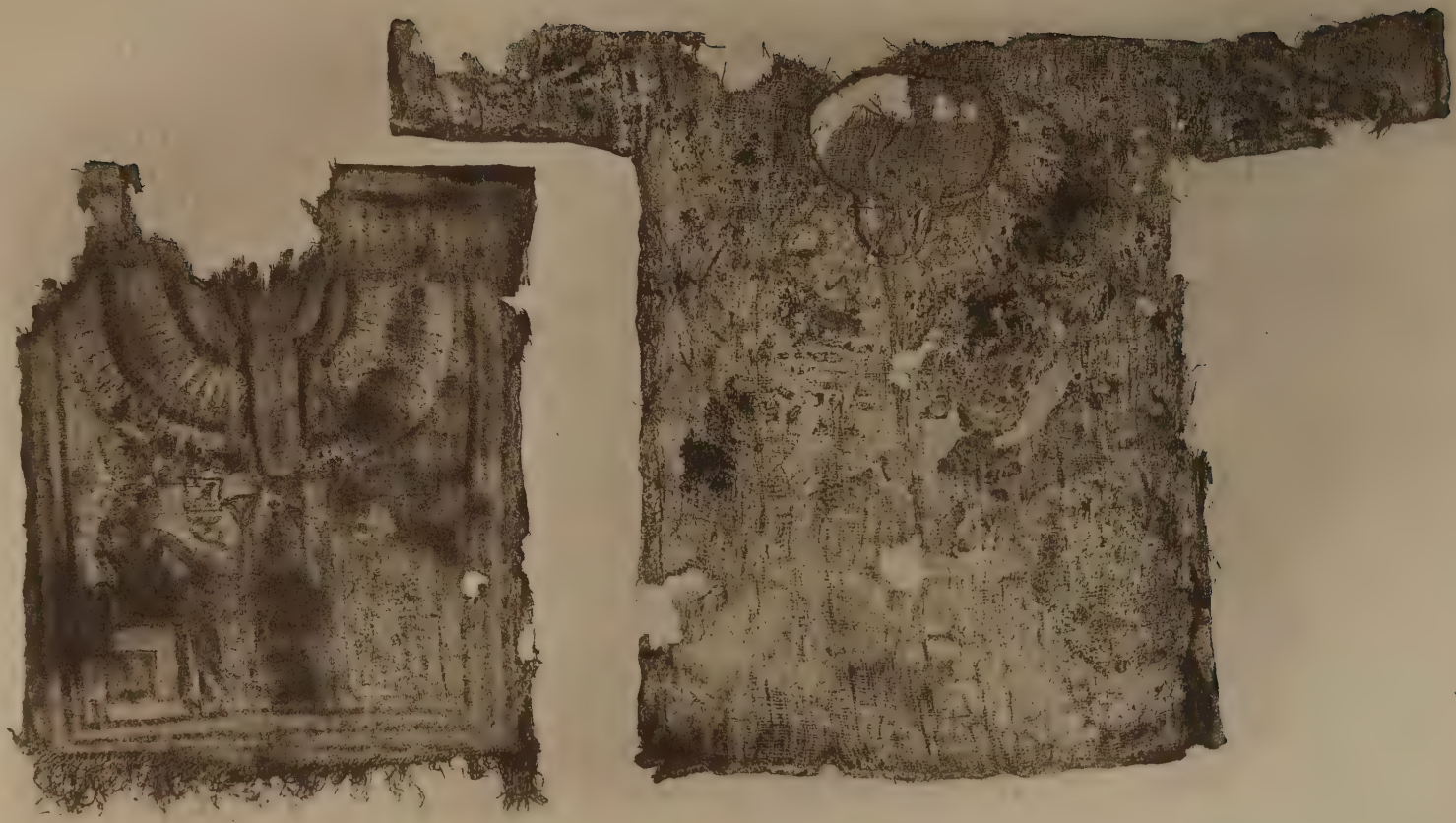
Zoroaster (Zarathustra), a Persian who, according to legends, was of divine origin and lived at least 550 years, if not more, before Jesus of Nazareth, was a benevolent man and a great reformer. It was said of him that he always thought good thoughts first, spoke good words first, and was the first to perform good actions. His fundamental conception of the creative Deity was monotheistic, and he claimed to have received the sacred inspiration and Word through

[1] "Jehovah" signifies "does battle," being the warrior from whom the nation took its name.

PLATE XXVI

DEDICATORY BABY-SHIRTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

See p. 52



the flames, thus assimilating his doctrine to fire worship.[1] His descriptions of God are full of exalted conceptions; he calls Him the Creator of the Earthly and Spiritual life, and describes Him as an intelligent and moral Ruler.

Confucius (Kong-Fu-Tse). This great teacher, who flourished about 550 B.C., was of Chinese royal descent, and has left a following of many millions spread over the greater part of Asia to this day. He was noted for his wisdom and virtue, and the peacefulness and temperance of his life. His precepts relate to common life, for the successful conduct of which he enjoined universal benevolence, honesty, justice, virtue, and veneration of one's ancestors. He laid down laws for the guidance of children and their rising passions, and showed the means to the attainment of happy domestic life; he spoke eloquently of the benefits and delights of friendship, and held it to be man's duty to forgive offences; he exhorted monarchs to exercise justice and humanity, the characteristic virtues of rulers.

Buddha, *i.e.* "the enlightened," Gautama being his family name, was the son of the King of Kapilavastu in India, and began to teach about the fifth century B.C. Early in life he was filled with deep compassion for the degeneracy and misery of the human race. Retiring into solitude, he practised the most rigorous asceticism and gave himself up to profound meditation on the issues of human life and the relation of individual man to the surrounding universe. The philosophy which he evolved he termed the "true path to the goal of life." His first verity is that pain is inseparable from existence; the second, that such pain is the offspring of desire and of faults which desire has caused us to commit in previous states of existence—for he believed in the transmigration of souls; the third, that pain can only cease through Nirvana; and the fourth, that in order to attain Nirvana our desires and passions must be suppressed by the most extreme self-renunciation. The way to salvation depends

[1] *Cf.* the incident of Moses and the burning bush.

upon the observance of eight rules, viz.: right view, judgment, language, purpose, profession, application, memory, and meditation. And these are based upon five fundamental moral rules—not to kill, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to lie, and not to give way to drunkenness. But he also laid down other and more positive virtues to be practised by man, among which may be mentioned charity, purity, patience, courage, contemplation and knowledge—these he termed man's safe conduct "to the other shore."

The Buddhist virtue of charity is universal in its application, extending to all creatures and demanding the greatest self-denial and sacrifice, even to the offering of oneself to a famishing lioness unable to suckle her cubs, as Buddha himself had done in a previous state of existence.

This teaching received many adherents in India already during the lifetime of Buddha, and after his death spread far and wide throughout Asia, although severely persecuted at one time by the priests of the religion of the Brahmans. To-day it numbers among its followers perhaps a third of the human race.

The seeds sown by these great teachers bore great fruit. We cannot doubt that their doctrines spread widely throughout the East, and, many centuries before the coming of Jesus, Syria must have felt the impulse of these moral forces, although, with the exception of the Mosaic teaching, they failed to take firm root in these lands themselves. Out of the East comes light, and with the revival of most of the nobler of these precepts, and by His own personal example, Jesus was able to appeal with success to the struggling moral consciousness of his time.

But in addition to the best of these teachings and principles, he also laid down many high doctrines and rules of his own for the guidance of man in dealing with his fellow-men. He taught the application of liberty, light, and truth to daily life, and by his profound testing of the habits of everyday existence by great general principles he made many converts, especially among the lowly and

PLATE XXVII

PAINTING ON LINEN OF THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY

See p. 53

oppressed; for his teaching was addressed to all alike. The spiritual doctrines which he held were lofty, and his moral teaching appealed to all that is generous in man. But perhaps his greatest originality lay in the sublime simplicity and complete self-abnegation of his life.

The name Christian was first given to his followers in Antioch as a term of reproach by their adversaries.

His teaching, gaining additional authority by the manner of his death, triumphed over the opposition alike of his own race and of the Romans, and in the mouths of his apostles and disciples spread swiftly over the known world. St. Mark, the legend tells us, brought Christianity into Egypt.

In consequence of the many conflicting theories regarding the "Christian doctrines" introduced soon after the first preaching of the new creed at Alexandria, in the reign of Nero, A.D. 54, much strife and bloodshed ensued among the adherents of the opposed sects. Religious divisions made their influence felt in all departments of life, political and domestic, and the success of a doctrine was largely dependent on the power and influence of which its promoters could dispose.

The whole of Egypt, but more particularly Alexandria, saw many savage persecutions of the Christians from within and without, one faction being antagonistic to the other, whereas Government endeavoured to stamp out both. The official persecution, always more political than religious, already beginning in the reign of Nero, lasted to the time of Diocletian, culminating in the wholesale massacres of the year 284, from which year the Coptic church dates the era of the martyrs.

It is with these Coptic Christians that the manuscripts, of which the present volume treats, are mainly concerned. It is, therefore, of some importance to realise their origin and character. They were the descendants of the indigenous Egyptians, and in them the old stock, which had played so great a part in the world's history, makes its last bid for recognition. The name came from a town, called Quebt in

hieroglyphics, which, we learn from a papyrus in the British Museum, was already in existence as early as the Fourth Dynasty in the time of King Cheops. This is the Greek Αἴγυπτος, which the Copts themselves call Kebt and the Arabs Qubt. Their language, which will be treated more fully in Chapter VI., was a degenerate form of the old Egyptian.

The character of these people was not good. Ammianus Marcellinus, a convert of Jewish descent, says of them, "They are sullen, false, faithless, and deceitful, but extremely useful as accountants, and they are skilled workmen." Much of this is still true to-day. In religion they were distinguished by a strange intensity of fanaticism, which inspired alike the hermits of the Thebaid and the factions of Alexandria. From their midst came the great Arian heresy, which rent the churches, and we may see some of their fanatical logic in the monophysite doctrine for which they fought and suffered, and which still lives amongst them after it has been expelled from the rest of the Christian world.[1]

In addition to the old temples not destroyed or converted into Christian churches, the Copts built many others throughout the land. The more ascetic formed into brotherhoods, and banished themselves from the world into monasteries erected in far outlying districts, where the scholarly wrote sacred books in their own language, which was the only language spoken and written at the time of the Saracenic invasion. Most of the Coptic ecclesiastical literature found during recent years comes from the ruins of these churches and monasteries.

Long before Christianity was officially recognised, the followers of the two doctrines had divided into parties under leaders differing in opinion regarding the nature of Jesus—a strife that continued even with greater vigour afterwards.

About A.D. 324 a serious dispute arose between the two sects, or more probably the different races of Christians at Alexandria.

[1] An interesting discussion of Coptic life, character, and art will be found in M. Gayet's book, *L'Art Copte*.

PLATE XXVIII

ABD-EL RASSUL AND THE SHAFT DISCOVERED BY HIM

See p. 55

One was headed by Arius, who claimed that "Jesus Christ was similar to God in nature," whereas the other, led by Athanasius and supported by the Bishop of Alexandria, maintained the theory that "Jesus Christ and His Father were one and the same nature." This dispute led to the calling of a Council of Bishops to Nicæa by Constantine, with the design of deciding the matter, under the presidency of the Emperor himself; the result was the condemnation of the doctrine of Arius.

A short outline of the religious history of that age, particularly the transactions at Nicæa, will give us some insight into the nature of the Christians of those days, and enable us to trace more clearly the development of the Christian Church as conditioned by these early Councils.

The cruellest oppression was practised by one sect of Christians on the community of the other Christians as their respective strength rose and they could command the backing of the State: or, again, both parties would for a time sink their differences in a combined attack on the followers of the old religion and the Jews: so that the constant drain upon the energies of the State and the gradual weakening of the moral force of the inhabitants rendered Egypt an easy prey to the Saracens, who were already beginning their attack upon the neglected defences.

Furthermore, Constantine withdrew his favour from Alexandria and founded the Eastern Capital of his Empire on the Bosphorus, as the result of the unpleasant relations existing at the time between himself and the inhabitants. In 337 we find George of Cappadocia, the Bishop of Alexandria, crushing the followers of Athanasius with the help of the Government. He was murdered in the street by the Alexandrians a few years later. Theodosius I. proclaimed Christianity the official religion in 378, when many temples and other buildings were destroyed by the Christians.

During the reign of Arcadius, A.D. 395, the first Emperor of the Byzantine Period, the secular power passed into the hands of

Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, who in turn killed all those who rejected his doctrine of the anthropomorphic nature of God.

The Serapeum Library, containing the remnants of the Great Library of Alexandria, of which the part preserved in the Cæsarian Palace had probably already been destroyed in 366, was now sacked by the Christians under the direct countenance of the Patriarch, who ordered that the temple of the God Serapis should be razed to the ground. According to a much later authority—Bar Hebræus, born A.D. 1226, died 1286—the Khalifa ordered the destruction of the books; but this account is discredited by most writers.

In the following reign, that of Theodosius II., A.D. 408, the Patriarch Cyril condemned the doctrine of Nestorius, who held that, in addition to the two natures of Christ, He possessed also two persons, a divine and a human. Eutyches thereupon proclaimed his version of the single nature of Christ, a doctrine already cited as adopted by the Copts, though condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, and in A.D. 470 Zeno published an edict affirming the Incarnation, but leaving still undecided the question whether Christ possessed a single or a double nature, whatever interpretation we may put on those cryptic phrases.

It would only be wearisome to go into further details with regard to the incessant religious dissensions, turning on points of the minutest casuistry, and yet involving the death of hundreds, which gradually sapped the life of Alexandria.

Under Justinian, A.D. 527, the growing power of the Jacobites or Copts enabled them to separate from the Melkites, and to choose their own Patriarch. The temple of Philæ was destroyed and the gods taken to Constantinople by command of Justinian; and in A.D. 640 the Saracens invaded and conquered Egypt.

In dealing with the Councils held at Nicæa, it is necessary to remember not only the circumstances under which Christianity evolved—namely, the continually insistent necessity of some religious and moral reform among the heterogeneous races of which the in-

PLATE XXIX

ABD-EL RASSUL AND HIS FAMILY

See p. 55

habitants of Alexandria and other large seaport towns scattered along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea were composed; but also the constant struggle of interests between the two nations, which was the original cause of strife and ultimately resulted in those fierce wrestles for supremacy, so thinly cloaked under the disguise of a niceness in distinction of theological terms and metaphysical attributes. There lived at the time at Alexandria, beside the subdued native Egyptians, a curious amalgamation of the descendants of the two conquering races, the Greeks and the Romans, who formed the ruling classes. The bureaucrats were as corrupted and designing as the ecclesiastics were tyrannical, intriguing, and ambitious, and the sole motive of both these classes seems to have been the exploitation of their fellow-men. In addition to these there was a smattering of cringing and spying Armenians, some of the vilest of the cunning Syrians, and a goodly number of Jewish traders with a creed of their own, but holding aloof from the others, and growing in wealth by dint of questionable industry and the practice of unrelenting thrift. To complete the picture one should not forget the martial and overbearing Saracen of the day, and the occasional nomad visitor from the desert. Alexandria at this time was one of the greatest commercial centres of Europe, a hotbed, as we have seen, of ecclesiastical and political intrigue, and the envy of its many less prosperous, though physically more powerful neighbours.

It is advisable to bear all this in mind when reviewing the transactions of the Councils, and although it may not disclose at a glance their ruling motives, it will at all events display the character of some individuals. We shall also know the material from which the representatives were selected and the character of their place of origin, and so be able to estimate more justly the scope and direction of their labours and the purity or dishonesty of their intentions.

Dr. Momerie says: "We have only to consider the circumstances under which the Councils were held, and the character of the individuals who composed them, and we shall be at once convinced that

their discussions could not possibly have been conducted with the calmness and impartiality which are absolutely essential to the attainment of truth.

"Jortin has enumerated some of the motives by which the Councillors must have been influenced. 'It might be,' he says, 'by reverence for the Emperor who summoned them and who sometimes himself presided; it might be by fear of offending a great prelate, such as the Bishop of Alexandria or Rome, who had it in his power to insult and plague all the bishops within his jurisdiction; it might be by the dread of passing for heretics, and so being calumniated, reviled, hated, anathematised, excommunicated, imprisoned, banished, fined, beggared, starved; it might be by deference to the majority, or by a love of domineering; by private friendship or by private feuds; by old prejudices, by the hope of gain, by good nature, by the fatigue of the attending and the desire to get home,' &c. 'Such motives as these must have had their weight, even if the bishops had been fairly anxious to arrive at truth. But they never were.' 'A general Council,' says Dean Milman, 'was convoked to settle some questions which had already disorganised the peace of Christendom. It was a field of battle, in which a long train of hostilities was brought to an issue. Men, therefore, met with all the excitement, the estrangement, the jealousy, the antipathy engendered by fierce and obstinate controversy. Each bishop was committed to his own opinions and was exasperated by opposition. They tried to triumph over their adversaries rather than dispassionately to seek for truth.'

"All this was more or less inevitable. But the character of the majority of the bishops made matters worse. Gregory Nazianzen, who had himself presided at one of these meetings, says: 'I have never known an assembly of bishops terminate well. They strive only for power. They behave like angry lions to the small, and like fawning spaniels to the great. It would seem as though a herald had convoked to the Council all the gluttons, villains, liars, and false-swearers of the empire. I will never more sit in one of these assemblies

PLATE XXX

PAPYRUS COLUMNS OF THE TEMPLE AT LUXOR

See p. 56

of cranes and geese.' The first Council, that of Nicæa, was about the most respectable of them all. But even there the reverend members were so full of mutual recrimination, so eager to get themselves heard and to drown the voices of their brethren, that the Emperor, who was President, read them a lecture on the unseemliness of their behaviour. Constantine was not a very fastidious gentleman. He had murdered his nephew, his son, and his wife. Yet even he was shocked at the conduct of the men who, according to the theologians, were under the immediate control of the Holy Ghost! At another of these Councils, the bishops first on the scene tried to get a vote taken before the other bishops could arrive. At the third of these deliberate assemblies, afterwards nicknamed the Robber Council, the Right Reverend the Bishop of Constantinople knocked down and trampled on the Right Reverend the Bishop of Alexandria, and kicked him till he died!

"There is no reason then *a priori* to suppose that the decisions of these Councils would possess any special value, much less that they would be infallible. And their infallibility is conclusively settled *a posteriori* for the decisions of one Council were frequently condemned by another."

Such was the great Nicæan Council, one of the four General Councils of the Church in which the dogmatic basis of the faith was laid down, itself a compromise between the warring opinions of opposed sects.

It may well be believed that the result of the Council did little to allay the discords of Alexandria. That hapless city was the prey of an ever-growing storm of faction.

Such was the moral and religious status of the people of the day, and to paint the picture clearer it will be necessary to describe the progressive character of some of the more important arts, sciences, and industries.

The art and industry, like the literature and religion of the time, were in a state of transformation. In Plate XXXIII. will be seen

a full-sized Roman-Coptic woollen shirt of the fourth century, still bearing traces of the characteristics of the shirts of the earlier period (Plate XXIV.). The fringed selvage is retained at the bottom edge in the manner of its predecessor of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but the graceful crescent-shaped collar has given way to square embroidered designs. These are in a variety of rich colours, red and blue predominating, and the opening in the front of the earlier shirt is replaced by long strips (clavi) sewn on, and extending down to the selvage, with similar designs on the cuff bands.

Akhmin, where this shirt—now in the possession of the writer—was found in a Coptic necropolis in 1906, is the ancient Chemmis, situated in the southern Thebaic district, and noted, according to a legend heard by Herodotus when he visited the place, as being the city from which Perseus derived his origin. It has always been famous for its linen and other fabrics, which are still woven there, and its many large Coptic monasteries, since ruined.

Plate XXXIV. shows a Coptic limestone water-jar stand of the sixth to eighth century. The design consists of two crosses in circles with Saracenic patterns, the sides and back being plain. The workmanship is crude, but it is an interesting specimen of early Coptic sculpture. I have sketched in the two jars to show their shapes and the manner in which the stand was employed. They would be made of pottery or marble, and fit into the shallow cavities connected with the hollow in the centre to allow the evaporated water, formed round the sides of the jars, to escape through the mouth, seen in front between the two crosses.

These stands for water-jars are not generally known, although the Arab Museum at Cairo possesses several with marble jars to match. The one shown here I brought to England three years ago and presented to the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.

It was found in 1905 near the site of a Coptic church at Thebes.

In Plate XXXV. is a series of Coptic funeral stelæ of limestone and a bronze lantern, mostly from the seventh to the eighth century period.

PLATE XXXI

THE SACRED LAKE WITHIN THE KARNAK ENCLOSURE

See p. 58

found, with the exception of the lantern, in the neighbourhood of Thebes, and brought over to England by the writer.

They are carved in low relief and show a distinct improvement in workmanship and design on the water-stand in the preceding plate.

The first stele, in the left vertical series of four in this plate, has a design of a cross inside a wreath surmounted with the following inscription :—

ΕΙC ΘΕΙΟC Ο ΒΟΗΘΩΝ ΘΕΚΤΑΜΟΗΑΤΝ

The next below has the façade of a building and an inscription in two lines :—

+ΕΙC ΘΕΟC Ο ΒΟΗΟΩ / ΙCΧCΔΙΟC

The third has an archway and cross and—

ΕΙCΘΕΟC Ο ΒΟΘΩΝ / ΔΙΟC

And the fourth, at the bottom of the plate, has the façade of a building with four columns and lotus capitals ; on doorway—

ΕΙCΘΕΟ / CΟΒΟΗ / ΘΩΝ / ΑΜΜΟ / ΝΙΟC

in five lines.

In the middle series, the first on top is a long slab with cruciform design. The second stele has a large cross in a wreath, with lettering in two arms of the cross. The third, at the bottom of the plate, is a large and beautifully ornamented stele, top portion broken off, 23 inches high. The central panel is carved with a doorway ; over the arch are traces of an inscription.

The third series on the right hand of the plate consists of a similar lot, with a few insignificant inscriptions. The bronze lantern shown here is better illustrated in the next plate.

Plate XXXVI., a Coptic drum-shaped hanging lantern of bronze, 12 inches in diameter, with handle and hook on a swivel for its suspension. Only the top and bottom discs have been preserved. The bottom fits into the top disc, and the whole lamp thus resembles a

folded Chinese accordion lantern. The body, which was probably made of canvas, is missing, and through the aperture in the top disc the socket for the lamp is plainly visible. The borders of the upper discs are designed in open work, with twelve circular panels of crucifixes and stars alternately. The idea of the open work is both practical and graceful in its execution. The lantern was found at Edfu in 1905, and resembles closely work of the ninth century. It has since been brought over to England by the writer.

In Plate XXXVII. an illustration is given of a large Coptic tunic of the sixth to eighth century. It is made of red wool with yellow stripes at the sides, the *clavus* ending in oval pendants, and the *arbiculi* (*i.e.* the large medallions), as well as the sleeve bands, are ornamented with elaborately designed embroidery woven in many-coloured wools.

This tunic (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum) was probably found at Akhmin, and is interesting as showing a further stage in the evolution of a particular industry and the influence of Saracenic art on designs in textiles. Compared with the foregoing illustrations of shirts in Plates III. and VI., the difference in style of decoration between the two latter is barely perceptible, notwithstanding the three or four centuries that separate them, while in this later tunic the Saracenic influence is perfectly evident.

The collar and necklace of the shirts of the Eighteenth Dynasty have degenerated into a mere narrow cross band uniting the *clavus* at the opening for the head, whereas the rich scroll borders of the *arbiculi* are of pure Saracenic origin.

It is interesting to note in the examples of Coptic art the gradual development of the cross from the old Ānkh symbol, the *crux ansata*, which, as I have explained in Chapter III., symbolises life on earth and after death. The cross was not a popular symbol with the early Christians. It was a stock jeer of the pagans that the founder of this great religion had died the death of a common malefactor. But the Egyptian Christians adopted the ancestral symbol of their country. The loop persisted for many generations. First we find it attached to

PLATE XXXII

THE ROSETTA STONE

See p. 60

the side of the upper arm of the cross as a thick curved line. Then the circle is extended all round the cross until it finally becomes the wreath which we so often find associated with the cross. Ultimately the wreath drops out altogether and we are left with the ordinary cross of Christian symbolism. It is a striking instance of that line of evolution which connects the old religion and the new. There is no real discontinuity in popular faith. The old persists into the new because the new is only a fresh phase of the thought which inspired the old. As I have shown above, Christianity is only in its main context a rephrasing from a new point of view of the older faiths of the East. Christ is one of a line of great teachers, prophets, and moral reformers, and the ceremonies and symbols which had become bound up with religion in the eyes of the people were very readily transferred to Christianity.

The Copts were well treated by the Saracens at the time of the conquest, but they proved themselves treacherous seventy years later, and the Saracens commenced to persecute them with the greatest severity, branding their hands, compelling them to wear degrading dresses, and destroying many of their churches and monasteries.

In order to escape persecution, great numbers of Copts embraced Islamism during the next five centuries, and to-day they constitute only one-fourteenth of the whole population.

CHAPTER V

THE MANUSCRIPTS: GREEK

CHAPTER V

THE MANUSCRIPTS: GREEK

The use of papyrus for purposes of writing is of high antiquity in Egypt. The Papyrus Prisse at Paris dates from the third millennium B.C., and was possibly in existence before 2500 B.C. And the material was in constant use through all the later periods of Egyptian history. But it is with its employment during the period of the Greek dominion and later that we are here concerned. Papyrus was made from the papyrus plant, a tufted reed which grew plentifully on the borders of the irrigation canals. The name has been derived by M. Bondi from the Egyptian "Pa-p-iur," that which belongs to the river. The writing material was made from the stalk of the plant by splitting it up into thin strips, which were then glued and pressed together. The sheets were dried in the sun and smoothed down with ivory or some other polished substance. The separate sheets were then glued together into a roll. On these rolls the scribes wrote, usually in columns parallel to the length of the roll. Occasionally, however, as in our illustration (Plate XXXVIII.), the writing runs across the breadth of the papyrus sheets.

Vellum first began to come into general use for literary purposes in the first ages of the Christian church. The vellum *codex* in book form was infinitely more convenient than the papyrus roll, and the Christian faith as it spread over the Roman empire carried vellum with it. Papyrus remained for a long period as the medium for accounts, private letters, and the like, sharing this domain with the

broken sherds of pottery known as *ostraka*.[1] But for literary purposes vellum had almost entirely usurped its place even in Egypt, its natural home.

The discoveries of papyri, which have made our age so notable in classical studies, have been authoritatively described by Mr. Kenyon in the *Quarterly Review* of last year. He there sums up in a masterly manner the contributions to the advance of classical, theological, and historical knowledge which have come from this yet unexhausted source. Most important among these are the recovery of a poet of a hitherto unknown *genre* in Greek literature (Herodas), large fragments of the poems of a great lyric and choral writer (Bacchylides), long passages from the plays of a comic poet hitherto known only by small fragments and the universal approbation of antiquity (Menander), a lyric by the most passionate lyrist of Greece and the world (Sappho), whole speeches of one of the greatest of the great Athenian orators (Hyperides), and considerable portions of a history the authorship of which the learned world has yet to determine. Add to these the many fragments of Greek literature (Homer, Pindar, &c.), the deeply interesting remains of early Christian thought, and chief among these the famous Logia Jesu—in which almost alone among apocryphal writings Christ seems to speak as with his authentic voice—and the numberless letters, accounts, and official documents, which throw an invaluable light on the history of Egypt from the time of the Ptolemies to far down in the period of the Arab dominion, and we may well claim that our age has seen the most remarkable advance in classical studies since the Revival of Learning in the sixteenth century.

The papyri from Syene (now Brit. Mus. Papp. 1787–1820) are mainly of local interest, and consist of acknowledgments of contracts

[1] The scarcity and increasing dearness of papyrus led to the general use of ostraka (ὄστρακον = a shell) for the record of ordinary transactions. During the sixth–eighth centuries the Copts used the coarser, ill-baked, ribbed pottery for commercial transactions. The Government tax-collectors employed yellow glazed ostraka, and flakes of white limestone were used for various ecclesiastical purposes.

PLATE XXXIII

ROMAN-COPTIC WOOLLEN SHIRT: FOURTH CENTURY

See p. 77

and sales, receipts, acquittances, &c. I give one *in extenso*, a very fair example of the rest. An account of the Cosmas and Damian manuscript (now Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 37534) follows: Plate XXXVIII.

BRIT. MUS. PAP. 1800 (INV. NO.)

Acquittance by Aurelia Tsōne, a nun of Syene, daughter of Menas and Tapia to her mother Tapia, daughter of Tsiou and Mariam, of Syene, of four solidi. The father and mother had been divorced. Probably the mother was to have the custody of the child, and the four solidi were paid by the father to her on this understanding. But the child was ultimately brought up by the father. The mother married again and her daughter, when she came of age, the father being dead (*cf.* ὁ μακάριός μου πατήρ), claimed the four solidi. The mother asserted that the money had been given to her in repayment of her dowry, but the case went against her and the money was repaid. The document is witnessed by a centurion and soldiers of the *numerus* of Syene, the notary of the same numerus signing for the illiterate Aurelia Tsōne, by an archdeacon of St. Mary's at Syene and others.

1 ✠ βασιλειας του θειοτατου ημων δεσποτου φλαυιου τιβεριου μαυρικιου του αιωνιου
αυγουστου
2. αυτοκρατορος και μεγιστου ευεργετου ετους τεταρτου και ὑπατειας του αυτου δεσποτου
3. ημων ετους δευτερου θωκ (*sic*) κγ της τεταρτης ἰνδικτιονος· εν συνηνη
4. αυρηλια τσωνη θυγατηρ μηνα εκ μητρος ταπιας μοναχη ορμωμενη απο συηνης
5. η και εξης ὑπογραφεα παρεχουσα τον ὑπερ αυτης ὑπογραφοντα και μαρτυρας
6. τους εξης κατ' επιτροπην αυτης και αιτησιν προσμαρτυρουντας ταυτη τη παρουση
7. ομολογια της αμεριμνειας αυρηλια ταπια θυγατρι τσιου εκ μητρος μαριαμ
8. ανευ κυριου αυτη ανδρος χρηματιζουσα ἰδια μου μητρι ορμωμενη απο της αυτης
9. συνηνης χαιρειν επειδηπερ πρωην ο μακαριος μου πατηρ μηνας εσχεν σε
10. εις νομιμου γαμου κοινωνιαν και μετα την γεννησιν μου ετι νεας ουσης
11. κατα διαβουλικην και σατανικην ενεργειαν απεχωρισθης απ αυτου· δεδωκοτος
12. δε σοι του προειρημενου μου πατρος μηνα χρυσου νομισματια τεσσερα· και μετα το
13. προβεβηκεναι με τη εννομω ηλικια επεξηλθον σοι εναγουσα ενεκα
14. των αυτων τεσσαρων νομισματων λεγουσα ταυτα σοι δοθηναι περι της
15. εκπαιδιας θην (?) αναγκαιας μου τροφης δια το ουν τραφηναι με ὑπο του
16. πατρος μου εκβληθεισαν δε ὑπο σου γενομενης και κολλασθαι ετερω ανδρι

17. ταυτα επεξηλθον σοι ζητουσα λαβειν · σοι δε αμφιβαλεις λεγουσα ειναι
18. τα αυτα τεσσερα νομισματα ὑπερ απολυσεως μου και προικος · και πολλων
19. λεχθεντων και αντιλεχθεντων και δοκιμασθεντων ὕστερον δε εδοξεν ωστε
20. εμε τα αυτα τεσσερα νομισματα δεξασθαι δια το ως προειρηται ανατραφηναι με
21. ὑπο του προειρημενου μου πατρος και εφ ω εμε μη δεξασθαι μητε λαβειν ὑπερ σου
22. μητε εναγειν σοι ἢ τοις κληρονομοις σου εν τω νυν και εν μηδενι καιρω κατα μηδενα
23. τροπον αφορμη μηδεμια οθεν εληλυθα εις ταυτην την εγγραφον αμεριμνειαν
24. εξης ομολογω μηκετι μηδενα λογον εχειν προς σε μητε προς τους μετα σε κληρονομους
25. μητε εναγειν μητε εγκαλειν ἢ διαιταν κινησαι κατα σου ταυτης ενεκεν της υποθεσεως
26. και μητε δουναι μητε λαβειν ὑπερ σου μητε αλλος τις ὑπερ ονοματος μου επελευσεσθαι
27. σοι η τοις κληρονομοις σου η τεκνοις ἢ εγγονοις σου ει δε συμβαιη με κατα σου επεξελθειν
28. εν τινι καιρω η τοις κληρονομοις σου περι οιουδηποτε πραγματος εφ ω εμε παρασχειν
29. λογω προστιμου παραβασεως χρυσου ογγιαν μιαν εργω και δυναμει απαιτουμενα εκ της
30. εμης μετρικης ὑποστασεως και μηδεν ἰσχυειν κατα των εγγεγραμμενων ταυτη
31. τη παρουση ομολογια της αμεριμνειας αλλα προς τω ακοντα εμμενειν αυτη ως εν δημο
32. σιω αρχειω γεγενημενη δια το εμοι αναγκης μη επικειμενης η απατης η δολου τινος
33. αλλα δια το εμε ουτω δεδοχθαι και πεπληρωσθαι τα προγεγραμμενα νομισματια τεσσερα
34. και ταυτα εκθεσθαι σοι την εγγραφον ασφαλειαν ητις κυρια εσται και βεβαια και αρραγη
35. και ασαλευτον και εννομον απανταχου προφερομενην και εμφανιζομενην μεθ᾽ ὑπο
36. γραφης του ὑπερ εμου ὑπογραφοντος κατα παρακλησιν εμην και αξιωσιν και των
37. εξης μαρτυρουντων και επερωτηθεισα κατα προσωπον ταυθ᾽ ουτως καλως εχειν
38. ποιειν ωμολογησα και απελυσα [2nd hand] + αυρηλια τσωνη θηκατηρ μηνας μητρος ταπιας
39. μοναχη απο συηνης η προκ(ειμενη) εθεμεν ταυτα την ομολογιαν και στοιχει ημιν παν
40. τα τα ενγεγραμενων ως προκ(ειται) φλ(αυιος) ιωαννις αβρααμιου ακτουαρις αριθμου
41. συηνης αξιωθις εγραψα υπερ αυτης γραματα μη ειδηεις +
42. + παθερμουθις σερηνου ελα(χιστος) πρεσ(βυτερος) συηνης μαρτυρω +
43. + φλ (αυιος) αλλαμων διου στρα(τιωτης) αριθμου συηνης μαρτυρω +
44. + φλ (αυιος) παειων διου στρα(τιωτης) αριθμου συηνης μαρτυρω +
45. + ισακος ταειονας αρχιδιακ(ονος) της αγιας μαριας συηνης μαρτυρω
46. + παπνουθις αρ . . . διακ(ονος) εκκλ(ησιας) συηνης μαρτυρω +
47. + φλ (αυιος) διοσκυρος ιωαννου κεντυρ(ιων) αριθμ(ου) συηνης μαρτυρω
48. + φλ (αυιος) ερμιας ἰωαννης (*sic*) στρα(τιωτης) αριθμ(ου) συηνης μαρτυρω +
49. δι εμου μαρκου απαδιου εγραφη

Endorsed.—+ ομολογι(α) αμεριμνεια γεναμ(ενη) π(αρα) τσωνης θυγατρος μηνα μοναχης απο συηνης προς ταπιαν την μητερα

NOTES

1. 11. This seems to have been a common formula in divorce cases; *cf.* Flor. Pap. 93, 13.

ἐκ σκαιοῦ πονηροῦ δάιμονος πεπόνθαμεν ἐπεμβρίσαντος.

1. 15. The first word is corrupt. ἐκ παιδίας would give the required sense, but it is difficult to explain the θην.

PLATE XXXIV

COPTIC WATER-JAR OF LIMESTONE: SIXTH–EIGHTH CENTURY

See p. 78

1. 17. σοι probably for σν.

1. 18. The words ὕπερ απολύσεως μου καὶ προϊκος are probably a quotation from Aurelia Tapia's defence.

THE LIFE AND MIRACLES OF SAINTS COSMAS AND DAMIAN

The manuscript seems to have been originally a codex, consisting of an uncertain number of gatherings which were probably uniformly of eight leaves each. There were possibly seven such gatherings, but the fragmentary condition of the manuscript only permits of an indeterminate estimate (Plate XXXIX.). The dimensions were probably rather more than 13 inches × 9 inches, but from the state of the leaves it is difficult to determine the exact extent of the margin. At present the leaves measure on an average about 12 inches × 58 inches. The edges are in all cases much torn, and at the upper right-hand corner a considerable portion has been severed diagonally. The text is otherwise well preserved, except for a considerable *lacuna* of one or two gatherings in the middle, involving a loss of nine chapters and the truncation of two more.

The manuscript was written in Egypt, possibly at the place of its discovery, in the late tenth or eleventh century. It was found in association with Coptic manuscripts bearing dates within those periods, and the hand (a late uncial) has a distinctly Coptic appearance. The text, moreover, as will appear later, has a peculiarly Egyptian colouring. More than one hand has been employed on it, and a reviser has added some corrections. The M of the constant Μετὰ ταῦτα at the beginning of each miracle is coloured red and brown and decorated with floral and geometrical patterns, the members of the letter being sometimes passed through rings at the upper angles; in some cases there is a cross or other adjunct pendent from the interior angle. Occasionally other initials in the margin are coloured.

Titles of chapters are at first written in the ink of the text, but in the latter part of the manuscript they are rubricated. Such headings as are left in the upper margin are rubricated.

The manuscript originally contained the life of the Asiatic brothers,[1] with the miracles of the husbandman and the wife of Malchus printed as part of the life by Herr Deubner and a series of more than forty-four miracles from various sources. Many of the miracles are hitherto unknown, and contain interesting details with regard to the cult of the saints. It is noteworthy that, though the manuscript was written so late, it contains no reference to any martyrdom either of the Arabian or of the Roman type.[2] It no doubt represents the traditional version of the Egyptian cult, with perhaps some accretion of extraneous miracles. There is scarcely enough evidence at present to settle the question whether the cult of the saints first arose in Egypt or Constantinople or elsewhere, but there is no doubt that the Egyptian cult was established very early. The text of the manuscript is much simpler and more direct in narration than any yet printed, and in all probability refers back to an original of greater antiquity than those of any of the current texts. Verbally the present text is almost entirely different. The more important variations in the substance of the narrative will appear below. It will be best to compare the text with that given by Herr Deubner. Apart from the life with its attendant miracles, which contains one important variant which will be given later, there are thirty-five miracles, of which nineteen correspond generally with miracles printed in Deubner and sixteen are new. First to give a harmony of those corresponding with Deubner (D.) (the numbering of the miracles of the present text, which is called R. (Rustafjaell) is that of the chapters):—

R.	D.
5. *περὶ τοῦ ὑδρωπικοῦ.*	Miracle 1. Page 98.
6. *περὶ τοῦ τὴν δυσουρίαν νοσήσαντος.*	„ 3. „ 104.
7. *περὶ τοῦ ταχυγράφου.*	„ 33. „ 180.
9. *περὶ τὴν θωρακικὴν νόσον νοσήσαντος.*	„ 6. „ 110.

[1] For the three pairs of the saints v. *Kosmas and Damian*, ed. Ludwig Deubner, Leipzig and Berlin, 1907, pp. 38 *seq.*

[2] v. *loc. cit.*

PLATE XXXV

COPTIC FUNERAL STELÆ: SEVENTH–EIGHTH CENTURY

See p. 78

R.	D.			
11. περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς σώφρονος.	Miracle	25.	Page	164.
22. περὶ τοῦ ἐσχηκότος τὸ ἀπόστημα.	„	11.	„	122.
23. περὶ τοῦ πεσόντος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ τὸ σκέλος κλασθέντος.	„	27.	„	118.
30. περὶ τοῦ αἱρετικοῦ παραλύτου.	„	17.	„	142.
31. περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ σευηριάνου.	„	20.	„	151.
32. περὶ Διοσκύρου σχολαστικοῦ Ἑλλήνων γεναμένου χριστιανοῦ.	„	9.	„	113.
33. περὶ τῆς ὑδεριώσης.	„	19*a*.	„	149.
34. περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ.	„	13.	„	132.
35. περὶ τοῦ τὴν φλεγμόνην ἐσχηκότος ἐν τῷ ἐφ[ήβῳ].	„	23.	„	160.
37. [περὶ τῆς πασχούσης πρὸς τὸν μάστον].	„	28.	„	171.
38. [περὶ τοῦ παρα]λυτικοῦ πτωχοῦ.	„	31.	„	176.
39. περὶ τοῦ σχολαστικοῦ τοῦ ἔχοντος τὸ ἀπόστημα.	„	32.	„	177.
43. περὶ τοῦ τὰς ἀιδοίας ἀποσκληκότος καὶ ὀφθαλμιῶντος.	„	22.	„	157.
44. περὶ τῆς πονούσης τον μάζον.	„	26.	„	166.
45. περὶ τῆς ἀλγησάσης τὸν μάστον.	„	29.	„	172.

The variants in substance may be treated most conveniently in connection with the miracles peculiar to this text. These are (with the chapter numeration), 4, 8, 10, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 36, 40, 41, 42, 46, 47. A brief abstract of these miracles will show their value, and perhaps serve towards further identification. Taken in order they are as follows:—

4. *περὶ τοῦ γεωργοῦ τοῦ σαποτομην (sic) τὸν πόδα.*

After a brief reference to the sanctification of the temple in Pheremma the following story is related. A farmer, who had lived evilly, wasting his substance in dissipation, chanced to wound his foot with a spade. The physicians insisted on amputation. He prayed to God for help, and the saints appeared, and, after showing to him the evil manner of his life, cured the foot. So he was healed both in soul and body. And the physicians, finding him sound, spread the news throughout the surrounding country.

8. *περὶ τοῦ ξήραν ἔχοντος τὴν χεῖρα.*

A man whose hand after three months' pain had dried

up entirely and "*τύπος μόνον ὂυσα χειρὸς ὡς νεκρὰ ἐγεγόνει*," came to sleep in the *τέμενος* of the saints, and a deer wandering about among the patients began to pluck at his cloak, which hung above him. He attempted to frighten it away by calling out, and cried on his neighbours to help him. They, however, only laughed, and as he struggled in desperation to drive the deer away he stretched out his right hand, and gradually it became sound like the left. Those about him then sang the *κύριε ελέησον*.

10. *περὶ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ Στεφάνου.*

This Stephanus was an eloquent man, known as *ὁ ταρσεὺς ῥήτωρ*. He was skilled in the books of the philosophers and himself wrote *ἐθνικὰ βίβλια*. He was afflicted with blindness, and being brought to the *τέμενος*, was healed in the fifth year. Afterwards he wrote a *βίβλιον ἐγκωμιαστικόν* on the saints.

21. Fragment of the story of a man with the disease called *φαγέδαινα*.

24. [*περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς ὑδεριώσης.*]

A woman, whose stomach was much swollen with dropsy, came to the temple and was told by the saints in a vision to wait till her cure should come. But after a few days she went away. The disease immediately began to increase. She returned to the temple. There she had a vision, wherein one of the statues of the saints, who were placed at the entry of the temple, one on either side of the Virgin (*cf.* No. 46), came down to her and began to feel her limbs. She, not having perceived the statue descending, took him for a monk and reproved him for his conduct. He reassured her and said that within a certain space of

PLATE XXXVI

COPTIC DRUM-SHAPED HANGING LANTERN OF BRONZE: ? NINTH CENTURY

See p. 79

time her disease would pass away. And within that space she was healed.

25. *περὶ του ἄλλου παρέτου.*

A beggar is paralysed. He goes to the temple of the saints, and after appearing to him twice they cure him.

26. *περὶ τῆς παιδίσκης τοῦ κληρικοῦ.*

A maid of a cleric *σεπτοῦ νάου τοῦ ἐν βλαχέρναις* had an affection in her cheeks, which distorted her face and prevented her from eating and speaking. She saw in a dream two clerics of the temple, who were called Cosmas and Damian after the saints. The two in the vision, however, were in reality Cosmas and Damian. She was unable to speak to them because of her affliction, and they took pity on her and bade her wait until they should come again. When they came again they cured her.

27. *περὶ τῶν δύο τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν ἐπίχυσιν.*

A certain Thomas, a poor man living on charity, was afflicted with cataract. The saints appeared to him and bade him lie on the left of their temple. There he was to wait till a certain man, whom he would know by certain signs, should come up, and from him he was to borrow twenty solidi. With these he must buy birds and eat them. The man came and Thomas borrowed the money, giving as surety a *γραμμάτιον ὡς δύνατόν ἐστι τοῖς μὴ βλέπουσι.* But he found himself no better in consequence. The transaction, on the advice of the saints, was repeated twice, with as little effect. So Thomas began to rail against the saints. Meanwhile another Thomas, a wealthy man with the same complaint, importuning the saints in the *τέμενος τῶν [ἁγίων] ἐν κυρεστικοῖς*, was instructed to go to the *νάος ἐν βλαχέρναις*, where he should find the other

Thomas. To him he must give one hundred and twenty solidi. He performed the command, and the saints appearing to the first Thomas, told him that the second Thomas was deceiving him and attempting to inveigle him into debt. Thomas awoke with a great cry and found that his eyes were opened. His cry startled the second Thomas out of sleep, and his eyes also were found clear of the cataract.

28. *περὶ τοῦ πλευρικοῦ.*

A Nestorian heretic, who divided the nature of God and held that the Virgin was not *θεοτόκος*, fell ill of a disease of the chest. His daughter was a nun in a nunnery near the temple of the saints. He was carried there to see her for the last time, as she could not come to him. The saints then appeared to him in a vision and bade him repeat the *ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος* down to *ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν*, and showed from that text that God is one and the Virgin *θεοτόκος*. He was healed at once of his disease and of his heresy.

29. *περὶ τοῦ αἱμοπτοϊκοῦ.*

Menas, a physician, began to spit blood. All his remedies from Galen and Hippocrates proved of no avail, and finally he went to the temple *ἐν βλαχέρναις*, and was instructed by the saints to anoint his chest with oil. He did so and was healed.

36. *περὶ τοῦ ὀφθαλμιῶντος.*

A man with ophthalmia, coming to the temple, was ordered to anoint his eyes with the salve of the place. The matter causing the disease ran out of his nostrils and he was cured.

PLATE XXXVII

COPTIC TUNIC: SIXTH–EIGHTH CENTURY

See p. 80

40. *περὶ τοῦ ἄλλου παρέτου.*

A poor man stricken with paralysis came to the temple. The saints bade him abstain from fleshly lusts and meat. He did so and was healed. Afterwards he resumed his old habits and fell ill again. By the same means he was again cured.

41. *περὶ τοῦ τὴν λάμιαν νοσήσαντος.*

A man with the strange disease called λάμια, namely, a ceaseless and insatiable hunger, was cured by the saints, who, after having forbidden him to eat, enabled him to partake of the Paschal Bread and Wine.

42. *περὶ τοῦ σπληνικοῦ.*

A well-born man suffering in the spleen despaired of the aid of physicians. He came to the saints and lay by day in the narthex of the temple, by night *παρὰ τῶν ἱερατίου καγκέλλων.* The saints appeared to him on the fifth day of the week and bade him wait till the Lord's day. He waited, and one of the saints appeared again. He besought him to heal him, and the saint, taking a cake of incense and crumbling it in his fingers, gave it to the sufferer, bidding him anoint his stomach with it. He was not healed, however. Later the saints appeared again. They bade him abstain from the eating of pulse. He did so and was cured. After three years he was attacked by a disease of the jaw. He had recourse to the temple of the saints again. They appeared to him on the third night and told him that the disease was a visitation from God for the salvation of his soul. Let him abstain from falsehood and he would be cured. He awoke, and, repenting, was cured.

46. *περὶ τοῦ ἐσχηκότος τὴν χοιράδα.*

A good man, suffering from scrofulous swellings, after

being tended by the physicians for five years with no good results, came to the temple and the saints appeared to him twice, the second time with the Virgin between them (*cf.* No. 24), who bade them heal the man. They took him to the σχολεῖον of the physicians and began to treat him with their hands. He thought that they were the ordinary physicians and about to use the knife. Afterwards they took him back to his own bed and healed him.

(*N.B.*—The text is fragmentary here, and the details of the story doubtful in consequence.)

47. περὶ τοῦ ἐμφραχθέντος.

The details of this story are lost, owing to the state of the manuscript.

As we might have expected in a manuscript coming from Egypt, the chief point of interest in the text is the number of evidences it affords of the cult of the saints in Egypt. But the evidence is not clear, and is embarrassed by what may be either a fresh problem to solve or a strange blunder of the scribe. The Egyptian cult, here as in other texts, centres round φέρεμμα, the Peremoun of the Copts, El Farma of the Arabs, the Pelusium of the Romans. There are many references to this place, the traditional resting-place of the saints. In one passage the building of the temple there is mentioned, and a miracle (R. 4) is said to have taken place ἐνθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ καθιερώσει τοῦ τεμένους.

But in the passage in the life of the saints where we naturally look for information as to their burial-place, they are said—in a mutilated text which can be restored with certainty—to have been buried ἐν φερέμμᾳ τῶν κυρεστικῶν. Now in D. 12, p. 128, the following passage occurs with reference to one of the patients of the saints. Εκ γὰρ τῆς τῶν Κυρρεστικῶν μερῶν τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐτύγχανεν ὁρμᾶσθαι, ἔνθα τὰ τίμια λείψανα τῶν θαυμαστῶν τούτων ἁγίων καὶ θεραπόντων τοῦ χριστοῦ κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ.

PLATE XXXVIII

PAPYRUS: SIXTH CENTURY

See pp. 85, 87

This place has been identified with Kyrrhos in Syria. There was undoubtedly a cult of the saints in Syria. We get, for instance, the mention of a wife of one Constantine of Laodicæa as a patient, D. 13, p. 132. Deubner gives other references *op. cit.*, p. 81, note 6. And in a miracle peculiar to the present text we find a sufferer referred by the saints themselves from the τέμενος ἐν κυρεστικοῖς to the νάος ἐν βλαχέρναις (R. 27). If, then, the words above quoted are anything more than a scribe's blunder or an attempt to harmonise two conflicting accounts, they would point to the existence either of a φέρεμμα or a town with a similar name in Syria, or of a Kyrrhos in Egypt. Both alternatives seem unlikely, and in neither case is there a town or district thus named commonly known. In a manuscript written in Egypt we should naturally expect the scribe to claim the honour of the relics for his own country, and, if the text is sound, it is possible that some Egyptian locality lies hidden in it. But without further evidence it is difficult to come to any safe conclusion.

The text certainly bears other traces of its Egyptian origin. The miracles were no doubt gathered from various sources, and four mentions of the temple at βλαχέρναι, the suburb of Constantinople, with other incidental indications, show the influence of the Constantinopolitan cult. But an Egyptian colouring is given to miracles, which in Deubner's text might be referred to Constantinople. For instance, in D. 20, p. 151, the patient is spoken of merely as πιστὸς ἀνήρ, but in R. his full name and title are given. Σευηρίανός τις ἀνήρ ἐκ μεγίστων ἀξιωμάτων πάλαι τῆς ἀρκαδίας δημοσίων συντάξεων ἀνυσάμενος τὴν διοίκησιν· καὶ ἦν . . . πιστὸς πάνυ.

Now Arcadia was a division of Egypt. Again in R. 30 (D. 17, p. 142) the heretic who is cured of paralysis is said to have held the diphysite heresy. In D. his heresy is styled ἡ τῶν ἑξακιονίτων, a name for the Arian heresy under Theodosius the Great (379–395). The change points definitely to a Jacobite country. In harmony with this is the miracle peculiar to this manuscript (R. 28), in which a

Nestorian heretic, who divided the nature of God, is convinced of his error when at the point of death by a sermon of the saints.

The text seems to conclude on the last folio with a peroration giving glory to God for his saints Cosmas and Damian. This peroration is followed by a hymn to the archangel Michael, headed ὑμνον (*sic*) ἀρχαγγελο[υ] μιχαη[λ]. This last addition is written in a very different hand from the rest of the text, the lines being crowded together as though the passage had been added on the blank space left by the scribe.

PLATE XXXIX

"LIFE AND MIRACLES OF SS. COSMAS AND DAMIAN."
VELLUM MSS.: TENTH–ELEVENTH CENTURY

See p. 89

CHAPTER VI

THE MANUSCRIPTS: COPTIC

CHAPTER VI

THE MANUSCRIPTS: COPTIC

THE Coptic language, in which these manuscripts are written, formed the last phase of the ancient Egyptian. It was a variety of the demotic or speech of the people, and, as we know it, is a curious intermixture of Aryan and Semitic characteristics. The influx of Greek words in the earlier Christian centuries gave it a larger vocabulary and enabled it to cope more efficiently with the nice distinctions of the theological thought, of which, as the Church developed in Egypt, it became one of the main vehicles. For writing, the Greek alphabet with some peculiarly Coptic letters was employed. There is practically no distinctive literature in the higher sense of the word in this language. It fell on evil days in its period of development, finding only for its subject-matter those theological controversies, which only by the happiest of chances succeed in producing living literature. There are still extant translations of parts of the Bible—the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Book of Kings, the Prophets, and the Book of Daniel — Sermons and Martyrologies, works of instruction and edification, the *Pistis Sophia*, a famous Gnostic work, and other productions of a like nature. For the light it throws on the old Egyptian language and for its place in the development of theology Coptic has its own special importance. But in the general march of that great army of vivifying thought, which we call by the distinctive term "literature," it has and can have little place.

The father of modern Coptic study was Kircher, who published his *Prodromus Coptus* in 1636. Since his time a regular succession of devoted scholars has kept up the study of the language and applied it with increasing effectiveness to many problems of philology

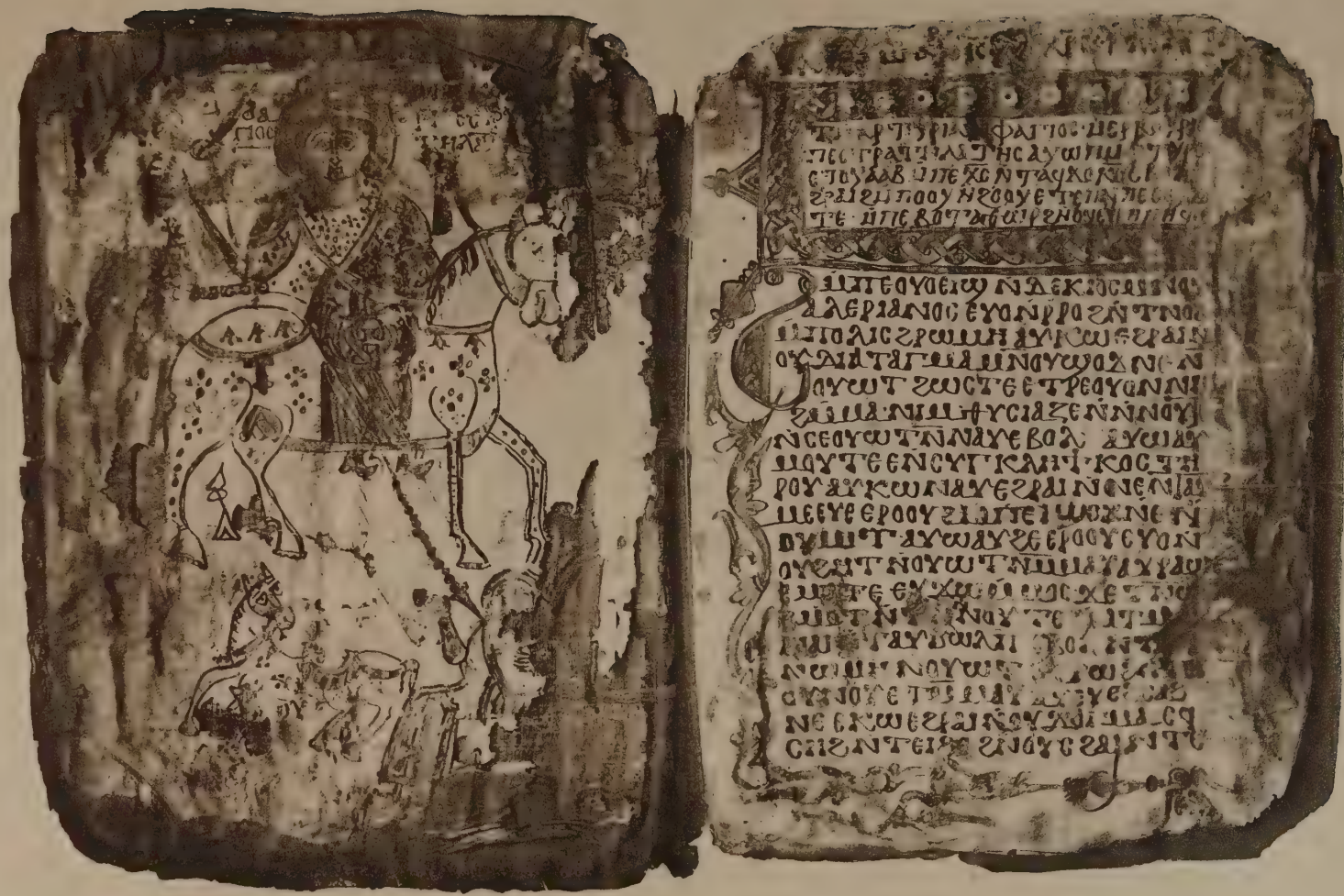
and archæology. Attempts to revive it as a living language have failed, although, notwithstanding the fact that it ceased to be intelligible in the fifteenth century, the Coptic Church still continues to set the Coptic text alongside the Arabic in its service-books. The following brief descriptions of the manuscripts are intended to give in catalogue form such information as enables their importance to be seen, as well as to show the peculiar character of the literature of which they are the normal examples. The translation of Bartholomew's apocryphal narrative will serve the same end more completely. I have selected it as being in itself of more general and striking interest than the others.

1. VELLUM MS. IN COPTIC (PLATE XL.). A complete volume of 30 leaves. Covers intact, of papyrus covered with leather, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick. The text is written in the Sahidic dialect in uncials of the tenth century, and on the first page is a coloured illustration of St. Mercurius on horseback in the act of spearing some one on the ground.

   Length, 11 inches; width, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

   Subject:—The martyrdom of St. Mercurius, the general (see the great Synaxarium, November 26th), dated (but this is not certain, as the subscription is partly illegible) A.M. 701 = A.D. 985.

Mercurius, who figures here on horseback, was a young Scythian soldier originally named Philopater, of Christian parentage, who distinguished himself in Decius' war with the barbarians (*i.e.* the Goths) and was promoted by the emperor. But, exhorted by a vision, he declares himself a Christian and is handed over by the emperor to be tortured. His tortures are described in the usual terms, but with some interesting details. He is eventually beheaded at Cæsarea in Cappadocia. The well-known legend of his appearance (in answer to St. Basil's prayers) and slaughter of Julian the



Apostate is also told. In this connection, the story of Julian's futile attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem is related, and that of the transport of the relics of John Baptist and Elisha to Alexandria. The "Martyrdom" is followed by a set of highly interesting Greek and Coptic New Testament lessons, differing from any known hitherto for the saint's festival. It is dedicated to the Monastery of Mercurius on the Mount at Edfu.

N.B.—Unknown and probably unique.

2. ANOTHER COPTIC VELLUM MS. (PLATE XLI.). Complete in 19 leaves, written in the Sahidic dialect, in uncials.

Length, 10 inches; width, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Subject:—Sermon by St. Pisenthios. The only extant literary work in Coptic of the bishop of Coptos, whose life is preserved in Bohairic, and a quantity of whose (genuine) correspondence is still extant. He lived during the Persian invasion about A.D. 619. Dated A. Mart. 748 = A.D. 1032 = A. HIJ. 422 (correct).

Nominally an encomium on Onnophrius, the famous hermit, though that saint is not in fact referred to throughout, except in name. The matter is wholly hortatory. The example of the saints is to be our guide in conduct. Fasting is necessary, at any rate at the prescribed times. Women are not to leave their houses but with veiled heads; they are not to stare at others in church. After service they must not sit and gossip at the church door. When at the martyr's festivals, hands are not to be clapped and lewd songs sung. Fasting communion enjoined, after it let them not return home to over-eat and drink and forget the poor.

There is much detail of interest in this sermon and it may quite possibly be genuine.

N.B.—This copy is unique.

3. COPTIC MS. ON VELLUM (PLATE XLII.). Written in Sahidic dialect in uncials, with an elaborately designed coloured cross on first page.

Length, 12 inches; width, 9½ inches.

Subject:—Sermon by St. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (A.D. 351–386), on the Sacred Cross. An interesting text. The MS. is dated A. Mart. 769 = A.D. 1053 (equated with A. HIJ. 442, which is not correct). It was written for a Nubian named ". . . son of Mashenka," from Pachoras (*i.e.* Begrash, near Derr). It is therefore not unlikely that the Nubian manuscript (see Chap. VII.) and the others had the same owner originally. The text is a long narrative, with homiletic introduction, put into the mouth of Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, who had once baptized a Samaritan, named Isaac, on his conversion to Christianity. Isaac had visited Jerusalem with a Christian caravan, at the Festival of the Cross, and had, on the journey, been convinced by a Christian priest, Bacchos, who, by means of a cross, turns a stagnant well sweet. At Jerusalem, he hears Cyril's festival sermon, wherein the story is told of how Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus had hidden the true cross in Christ's tomb, when the Jews would have burnt it. There its contact with a dead boy brings him to life and also heals his sick father. The Jews, since the tomb will not burn, determine to fill it with rubbish. All are therefore bidden to bring their daily sweepings and pile them on it. Gradually a huge mound is thus raised and the spot is forgotten, till Constantine and Helena come to seek it and summon all the exiled Jews to come and remove the rubbish. Judas (elsewhere called Cyriacus), who had indicated the place of the tomb, is eventually made bishop of Jerusalem.

This MS., having been written for a Nubian, is therefore very interesting, as one of the chapters amongst the leaves of the Nubian MS. brought to Berlin by MM. Schaefer and Schmidt deals with the sacred cross.

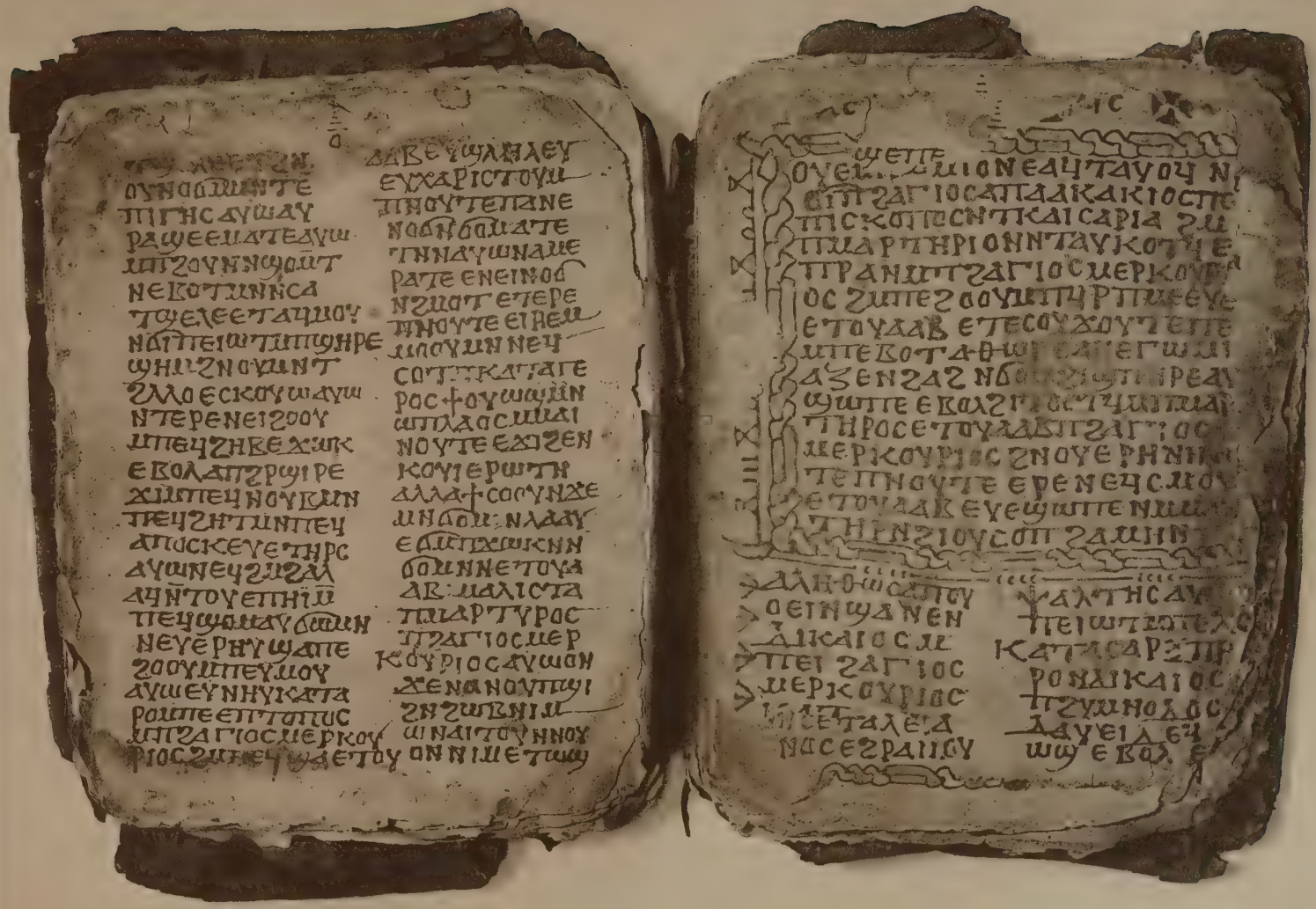
A comparison of the two should be made, when perhaps the clue to the reading of the Nubian language may be found.

N.B.—This MS. is the only known complete edition—unique.

4. COPTIC MS. ON PAPER (PLATE XLIII.). Forty-three leaves bound in leather cover, in the Sahidic dialect, written in uncials.

Length, 11 inches; width, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Contents:—Volume in two parts. This is a text of considerable interest, the eight miracles, wrought at the tomb of St. Mercurius, containing much curious detail. The "Martyrdom," which follows them and is ascribed to Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea, is much the same as that in the MS. represented by Plate XL. The MS. is difficult to date—about the eleventh century.



περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐθνῶν
τούτων ἐστὶν ἃ λέγω·
ἀπεροῦσι γάρ τινες
τοῦ εἶναι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ
τοσαῦτα γένη φωνῶν·
καὶ οὐδὲν ἄφωνον ἐστιν·
ἐὰν οὖν μὴ εἰδῶ τὴν
δύναμιν τῆς φωνῆς,
ἔσομαι τῷ λαλοῦντι
βάρβαρος, καὶ ὁ λαλῶν
ἐν ἐμοὶ βάρβαρος.
οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς,
ἐπειδὴ ζηλωταί ἐστε
πνευμάτων, πρὸς τὴν
οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας
ζητεῖτε ἵνα περισσεύητε.
διὸ ὁ λαλῶν γλώσσῃ
προσευχέσθω ἵνα
διερμηνεύῃ.
ἐὰν γὰρ προσεύχωμαι
γλώσσῃ, τὸ πνεῦμά μου
προσεύχεται, ὁ δὲ νοῦς
μου ἄκαρπός ἐστιν.
τί οὖν ἐστιν;
προσεύξομαι τῷ πνεύματι,
προσεύξομαι δὲ καὶ τῷ
νοΐ· ψαλῶ τῷ πνεύματι,
ψαλῶ δὲ καὶ τῷ νοΐ·
ἐπεὶ ἐὰν εὐλογήσῃς
τῷ πνεύματι, ὁ ἀναπληρῶν
τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου
πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ ἀμήν
ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ,
ἐπειδὴ τί λέγεις οὐκ οἶδεν;
σὺ μὲν γὰρ καλῶς
εὐχαριστεῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ
ἕτερος οὐκ οἰκοδομεῖται.
εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου
πάντοτε πάντων ὑμῶν
μᾶλλον γλώσσῃ λαλῶν·
ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ θέλω
πέντε λόγους διὰ τοῦ
νοός μου λαλῆσαι,
ἵνα καὶ ἄλλους
κατηχήσω, ἢ μυρίους
λόγους ἐν γλώσσῃ.
ἀδελφοί, μὴ παιδία
γίνεσθε ταῖς φρεσίν,
ἀλλὰ τῇ κακίᾳ νηπιάζετε,
ταῖς δὲ φρεσὶν τέλειοι
γίνεσθε.
ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται
ὅτι ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις
καὶ ἐν χείλεσιν ἑτέρων
λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ,
καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως εἰσακούσονταί
μου, λέγει κύριος.
ὥστε αἱ γλῶσσαι εἰς
σημεῖόν εἰσιν οὐ τοῖς
πιστεύουσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς
ἀπίστοις, ἡ δὲ προφητεία
οὐ τοῖς ἀπίστοις ἀλλὰ
τοῖς πιστεύουσιν.
ἐὰν οὖν συνέλθῃ ἡ
ἐκκλησία ὅλη ἐπὶ τὸ
αὐτὸ καὶ πάντες
γλώσσαις λαλῶσιν,
εἰσέλθωσιν δὲ ἰδιῶται
ἢ ἄπιστοι, οὐκ ἐροῦσιν
ὅτι μαίνεσθε;
ἐὰν δὲ πάντες προφητεύωσιν,
εἰσέλθῃ δέ τις ἄπιστος
ἢ ἰδιώτης, ἐλέγχεται
ὑπὸ πάντων, ἀνακρίνεται
ὑπὸ πάντων,
τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας
αὐτοῦ φανερὰ γίνεται,
καὶ οὕτως πεσὼν ἐπὶ
πρόσωπον προσκυνήσει
τῷ θεῷ ἀπαγγέλλων
ὅτι ὄντως ὁ θεὸς ἐν
ὑμῖν ἐστιν.
τί οὖν ἐστιν, ἀδελφοί;
ὅταν συνέρχησθε,
ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ψαλμὸν
ἔχει, διδαχὴν ἔχει,
γλῶσσαν ἔχει,
ἀποκάλυψιν ἔχει,
ἑρμηνείαν ἔχει·
πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν
γινέσθω.
εἴτε γλώσσῃ τις λαλεῖ,
κατὰ δύο ἢ τὸ πλεῖστον
τρεῖς καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος,
καὶ εἷς διερμηνευέτω·
ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ᾖ διερμηνευτής,
σιγάτω ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ,
ἑαυτῷ δὲ λαλείτω καὶ
τῷ θεῷ.
προφῆται δὲ δύο ἢ τρεῖς
λαλείτωσαν καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι διακρινέτωσαν·
ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλῳ
ἀποκαλυφθῇ καθημένῳ,
ὁ πρῶτος σιγάτω·
δύνασθε γὰρ καθ' ἕνα
πάντες προφητεύειν,
ἵνα πάντες μανθάνωσιν
καὶ πάντες παρακαλῶνται·
καὶ πνεύματα προφητῶν
προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται·
οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀκαταστασίας
ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ εἰρήνης,
ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς
ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων.
αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμῶν ἐν
ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
σιγάτωσαν·
οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται
αὐταῖς λαλεῖν,
ἀλλὰ ὑποτασσέσθωσαν,
καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος
λέγει.
εἰ δέ τι μαθεῖν θέλουσιν,
ἐν οἴκῳ τοὺς ἰδίους
ἄνδρας ἐπερωτάτωσαν·
αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστιν
γυναικὶ λαλεῖν ἐν
ἐκκλησίᾳ.
ἢ ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὁ λόγος
τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθεν,
ἢ εἰς ὑμᾶς μόνους
κατήντησεν;
εἴ τις δοκεῖ προφήτης
εἶναι ἢ πνευματικός,
ἐπιγινωσκέτω ἃ γράφω
ὑμῖν ὅτι κυρίου εἰσὶν
ἐντολαί·
εἰ δέ τις ἀγνοεῖ,
ἀγνοείτω.
ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου,
ζηλοῦτε τὸ προφητεύειν,
καὶ τὸ λαλεῖν γλώσσαις
μὴ κωλύετε·
πάντα εὐσχημόνως καὶ
κατὰ τάξιν γινέσθω.
γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν,
ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον
ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν,
ὃ καὶ παρελάβετε,
ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἑστήκατε,
δι' οὗ καὶ σῴζεσθε,
τίνι λόγῳ εὐηγγελισάμην
ὑμῖν, εἰ κατέχετε,
ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ εἰκῇ
ἐπιστεύσατε.
παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν
ἐν πρώτοις ὃ καὶ
παρέλαβον,
ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν
ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς,
καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη,
καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ κατὰ
τὰς γραφάς,
καὶ ὅτι ὤφθη Κηφᾷ,
εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα·
ἔπειτα ὤφθη ἐπάνω
πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς
ἐφάπαξ, ἐξ ὧν οἱ
πλείονες μένουσιν ἕως
ἄρτι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ
ἐκοιμήθησαν·
ἔπειτα ὤφθη Ἰακώβῳ,
εἶτα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις
πᾶσιν·
ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων
ὡσπερεὶ τῷ ἐκτρώματι
ὤφθη κἀμοί.
ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ ἐλάχιστος
τῶν ἀποστόλων,
ὃς οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς
καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος,
διότι ἐδίωξα τὴν
ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ·
χάριτι δὲ θεοῦ εἰμι
ὅ εἰμι,
καὶ ἡ χάρις αὐτοῦ ἡ
εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ κενὴ
ἐγενήθη,
ἀλλὰ περισσότερον
αὐτῶν πάντων ἐκοπίασα,
οὐκ ἐγὼ δὲ ἀλλὰ ἡ
χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ σὺν
ἐμοί.
εἴτε οὖν ἐγὼ εἴτε
ἐκεῖνοι,
οὕτως κηρύσσομεν
καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστεύσατε.
εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς κηρύσσεται
ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν
ἐγήγερται,
πῶς λέγουσιν ἐν ὑμῖν
τινες ὅτι ἀνάστασις
νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν;
εἰ δὲ ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν
οὐκ ἔστιν,
οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται·
εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ
ἐγήγερται,
κενὸν ἄρα τὸ κήρυγμα
ἡμῶν,
κενὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν·
εὑρισκόμεθα δὲ καὶ
ψευδομάρτυρες τοῦ θεοῦ,
ὅτι ἐμαρτυρήσαμεν
κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ
ὅτι ἤγειρεν τὸν Χριστόν,
ὃν οὐκ ἤγειρεν εἴπερ
ἄρα νεκροὶ οὐκ
ἐγείρονται·
εἰ γὰρ νεκροὶ οὐκ
ἐγείρονται,
οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται·
εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ
ἐγήγερται,
ματαία ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν,
ἔτι ἐστὲ ἐν ταῖς
ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν·
ἄρα καὶ οἱ κοιμηθέντες
ἐν Χριστῷ ἀπώλοντο·
εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ
ἐν Χριστῷ
ἠλπικότες ἐσμὲν
μόνον,
ἐλεεινότεροι πάντων
ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν.
νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς
ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν,
ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων·
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου
θάνατος,
καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου
ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν·
ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ
πάντες ἀποθνῄσκουσιν,
οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ
πάντες ζῳοποιηθήσονται·
ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ
τάγματι·
ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός,
ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ·
εἶτα τὸ τέλος,
ὅταν παραδιδῷ τὴν
βασιλείαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ
πατρί,
ὅταν καταργήσῃ πᾶσαν
ἀρχὴν καὶ πᾶσαν
ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν·
δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν
ἄχρι οὗ θῇ πάντας
τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς
πόδας αὐτοῦ·
ἔσχατος ἐχθρὸς
καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος·
πάντα γὰρ ὑπέταξεν
ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.
ὅταν δὲ εἴπῃ ὅτι πάντα
ὑποτέτακται,
δῆλον ὅτι ἐκτὸς τοῦ
ὑποτάξαντος αὐτῷ τὰ
πάντα·
ὅταν δὲ ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ
τὰ πάντα,
τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς
ὑποταγήσεται τῷ
ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ
πάντα,
ἵνα ᾖ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα
ἐν πᾶσιν.
ἐπεὶ τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ
βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν
νεκρῶν;
εἰ ὅλως νεκροὶ οὐκ
ἐγείρονται,
τί καὶ βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ
αὐτῶν;
τί καὶ ἡμεῖς κινδυνεύομεν
πᾶσαν ὥραν;
καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνῄσκω,
νὴ τὴν ὑμετέραν
καύχησιν, ἀδελφοί,
ἣν ἔχω ἐν Χριστῷ
Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.
εἰ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον
ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν
Ἐφέσῳ,
τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος;
εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται,
φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν,
αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνῄσκομεν.
μὴ πλανᾶσθε·
φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρηστὰ
ὁμιλίαι κακαί.
ἐκνήψατε δικαίως καὶ
μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε·
ἀγνωσίαν γὰρ θεοῦ τινες
ἔχουσιν·
πρὸς ἐντροπὴν ὑμῖν
λέγω.
ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις·
πῶς ἐγείρονται οἱ
νεκροί;
ποίῳ δὲ σώματι ἔρχονται;
ἄφρων, σὺ ὃ σπείρεις
οὐ ζῳοποιεῖται
ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ·
καὶ ὃ σπείρεις, οὐ τὸ
σῶμα τὸ γενησόμενον
σπείρεις ἀλλὰ γυμνὸν
κόκκον εἰ τύχοι σίτου
ἢ τινος τῶν λοιπῶν·
ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτῷ δίδωσιν
σῶμα καθὼς ἠθέλησεν,
καὶ ἑκάστῳ τῶν σπερμάτων
ἴδιον σῶμα.
οὐ πᾶσα σὰρξ ἡ αὐτὴ
σάρξ,
ἀλλὰ ἄλλη μὲν ἀνθρώπων
σάρξ,
ἄλλη δὲ σὰρξ κτηνῶν,
ἄλλη δὲ σὰρξ πτηνῶν,
ἄλλη δὲ ἰχθύων.
καὶ σώματα ἐπουράνια
καὶ σώματα ἐπίγεια·
ἀλλ' ἑτέρα μὲν ἡ τῶν
ἐπουρανίων δόξα,
ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ τῶν ἐπιγείων·
ἄλλη δόξα ἡλίου,
καὶ ἄλλη δόξα σελήνης,
καὶ ἄλλη δόξα ἀστέρων·
ἀστὴρ γὰρ ἀστέρος
διαφέρει ἐν δόξῃ·
οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις
τῶν νεκρῶν·
σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ,
ἐγείρεται ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ·
σπείρεται ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ,
ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ·
σπείρεται ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ,
ἐγείρεται ἐν δυνάμει·
σπείρεται σῶμα ψυχικόν,
ἐγείρεται σῶμα
πνευματικόν.
εἰ ἔστιν σῶμα ψυχικόν,
ἔστιν καὶ πνευματικόν·
οὕτως καὶ γέγραπται·
ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος
ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ εἰς
ψυχὴν ζῶσαν,
ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς
πνεῦμα ζῳοποιοῦν.
ἀλλ' οὐ πρῶτον τὸ
πνευματικὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ
ψυχικόν,
ἔπειτα τὸ πνευματικόν.
ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ
γῆς χοϊκός,
ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος
ὁ κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.
οἷος ὁ χοϊκός,
καὶ οἱ χοϊκοί·
καὶ οἷος ὁ ἐπουράνιος,
καὶ οἱ ἐπουράνιοι·
καὶ καθὼς ἐφορέσαμεν
τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ,
φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν
εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου.
τοῦτο δέ φημι,
ἀδελφοί,
ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα
βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ
δύναται κληρονομῆσαι,
οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τὴν
ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖ.
ἰδοὺ μυστήριον ὑμῖν
λέγω·
πάντες οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα,
πάντες δὲ
ἀλλαγησόμεθα,
ἐν ἀτόμῳ,
ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ,
ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σάλπιγγι·
σαλπίσει γὰρ καὶ οἱ
νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται
ἄφθαρτοι,
καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγησόμεθα.
δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν
τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι
ἀφθαρσίαν,
καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο
ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν·
ὅταν δὲ τὸ φθαρτὸν
τοῦτο ἐνδύσηται
ἀφθαρσίαν,
καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο
ἐνδύσηται ἀθανασίαν,
τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος
ὁ γεγραμμένος·
κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς
νῖκος.
ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ
κέντρον;
ποῦ σου, ᾅδη, τὸ νῖκος;
τὸ δὲ κέντρον τοῦ
θανάτου ἡ ἁμαρτία,
ἡ δὲ δύναμις τῆς
ἁμαρτίας ὁ νόμος·
τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις τῷ
διδόντι ἡμῖν τὸ νῖκος
διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου
ἀγαπητοί,
ἑδραῖοι γίνεσθε,
ἀμετακίνητοι,
περισσεύοντες ἐν τῷ
ἔργῳ τοῦ κυρίου
πάντοτε,
εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ κόπος
ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔστιν κενὸς
ἐν κυρίῳ.
περὶ δὲ τῆς λογείας
τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους,
ὥσπερ διέταξα ταῖς
ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας,
οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήσατε.
κατὰ μίαν σαββάτου
ἕκαστος ὑμῶν παρ'
ἑαυτῷ τιθέτω θησαυρίζων
ὅ τι ἐὰν εὐοδῶται,
ἵνα μὴ ὅταν ἔλθω τότε
λογεῖαι γίνωνται.
ὅταν δὲ παραγένωμαι,
οὓς ἐὰν δοκιμάσητε
δι' ἐπιστολῶν τούτους
πέμψω ἀπενεγκεῖν τὴν
χάριν ὑμῶν εἰς
Ἰερουσαλήμ·
ἐὰν δὲ ἄξιον ᾖ τοῦ κἀμὲ
πορεύεσθαι,
σὺν ἐμοὶ πορεύσονται.
ἐλεύσομαι δὲ πρὸς
ὑμᾶς ὅταν Μακεδονίαν
διέλθω,
Μακεδονίαν γὰρ διέρχομαι·
πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς τυχὸν
παραμενῶ ἢ καὶ
παραχειμάσω,
ἵνα ὑμεῖς με προπέμψητε
οὗ ἐὰν πορεύωμαι.
οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἄρτι
ἐν παρόδῳ θεάσασθαι·
ἐλπίζω γὰρ χρόνον τινὰ
ἐπιμεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
ἐὰν ὁ κύριος ἐπιτρέψῃ.
ἐπιμενῶ δὲ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ
ἕως τῆς πεντηκοστῆς·
θύρα γάρ μοι ἀνέῳγεν
μεγάλη καὶ ἐνεργής,
καὶ ἀντικείμενοι πολλοί.
ἐὰν δὲ ἔλθῃ Τιμόθεος,
βλέπετε ἵνα ἀφόβως
γένηται πρὸς ὑμᾶς·
τὸ γὰρ ἔργον κυρίου
ἐργάζεται ὡς κἀγώ·
μή τις οὖν αὐτὸν
ἐξουθενήσῃ·
προπέμψατε δὲ αὐτὸν
ἐν εἰρήνῃ,
ἵνα ἔλθῃ πρός με·
ἐκδέχομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν
μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν.
περὶ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ τοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ
πολλὰ παρεκάλεσα αὐτὸν
ἵνα ἔλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν,
καὶ πάντως οὐκ ἦν
θέλημα ἵνα νῦν ἔλθῃ,
ἐλεύσεται δὲ ὅταν
εὐκαιρήσῃ.
γρηγορεῖτε,
στήκετε ἐν τῇ πίστει,
ἀνδρίζεσθε,
κραταιοῦσθε·
πάντα ὑμῶν ἐν ἀγάπῃ
γινέσθω.
παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς,
ἀδελφοί·
οἴδατε τὴν οἰκίαν
Στεφανᾶ καὶ τὴν
Φορτουνάτου καὶ
Ἀχαϊκοῦ,
ὅτι εἰσὶν ἀπαρχὴ τῆς
Ἀχαΐας,
καὶ εἰς διακονίαν τοῖς
ἁγίοις ἔταξαν ἑαυτούς·
ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς
ὑποτάσσησθε τοιούτοις
καὶ παντὶ τῷ
συνεργοῦντι καὶ
κοπιῶντι.
χαίρω δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ
παρουσίᾳ Στεφανᾶ καὶ
Φορτουνάτου καὶ
Ἀχαϊκοῦ,
ὅτι τὸ ὑμέτερον
ὑστέρημα οὗτοι
ἀνεπλήρωσαν·
ἀνέπαυσαν γὰρ τὸ ἐμὸν
καὶ ὑμῶν πνεῦμα·
ἐπιγινώσκετε οὖν τοὺς
τοιούτους.
ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ
ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Ἀσίας·
ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς ἐν
κυρίῳ πολλὰ Ἀκύλας
καὶ Πρίσκα σὺν τῇ κατ'
οἶκον αὐτῶν
ἐκκλησίᾳ·
ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ
ἀδελφοὶ πάντες·
ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους
ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ.
ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῇ ἐμῇ
χειρὶ Παύλου·
εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν
κύριον,
ἤτω ἀνάθεμα·
μαράνα θά.
ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου
Ἰησοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν·
ἡ ἀγάπη μου μετὰ πάντων
ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ
Ἰησοῦ.
ἀμήν.

5. COPTIC MS. (PLATE XLIV.). Four leaves on vellum, in the Sahidic dialect, written in uncials.

Length, 10 inches; width, 10 inches.

Contents:—Fragment of an encomium by Chrysostom on the archangel Raphael and the consecration of his church, built by the emperor Arcadius, with recital of certain wonders performed there (sick healed, thieves baffled, &c.).

This is a very popular work, of which other fragments are known in Paris and elsewhere.

The MS. should date about the year A.D. 1000.

6. COPTIC MS. ON PAPER (PLATE XLV.). A single leaf, in the Sahidic dialect, written in uncials.

Length, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; width, 7 inches.

Contents:—Concerning a bishop sent for to baptize a heathen city. A presbyter Mark is mentioned. The MS. cannot be identified. Date about A.D. 1000. It is now Or. MS. 7029 in the British Museum.

ⲛⲉⲣⲉⲙⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲩ ⲱⲥⲉ
ⲟⲩⲏⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲟ
ⲇⲣⲓⲡⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲟϥ
ⲧⲱⲧϥ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲥⲓⲟⲛ ϫⲉⲙⲙⲉ
ⲛⲛⲉϩ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲛⲧϥ ⲁⲩ
ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱⲗⲁⲏⲗ ⲉϫⲛ
ⲙⲙⲏⲡⲉϩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲓⲕⲁⲛⲱⲛ ⲛⲏⲉⲓ
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁϩ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ
ϫⲁⲭⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉ
ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲥⲥⲉ ϩⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲟ
ⲡⲩⲡϫⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲓ ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲛⲉϫⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϩⲓⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ϩⲛⲟⲩⲟ
ⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉϥⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙⲙⲟⲟ
ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲡⲉ ⲇⲉⲉⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲓ
ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ϫⲉⲓ
ϥⲱⲣ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲥⲱϥ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ
ϩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉϩⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲱⲩⲣⲉ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲭⲁⲓ ⲱⲱⲱ ϫⲛ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ
ϩⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉϥϫⲓⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲉ
ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲣϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲉ
ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲣϥⲟⲩⲱ ⲇⲉ ⲉ
ϩⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲑⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲁ
ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲥ
ϫⲉⲓⲣⲟϫⲟⲛⲉ ϥ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ
ⲟⲛ ⲛⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲛ

7. PAPER MS. IN COPTIC (PLATE XLVI.). In the Sahidic dialect, written in uncials; 36 leaves, and unbound.

Length, 11 inches; width, 7 inches.

Subject:—The Revelation of St. John. The first and last leaves are missing. It is the fullest hitherto found. Date, about the twelfth century.

N.B. — A complete volume is unknown; in Rome, Paris, London, and Berlin the libraries possess fragments only, of which the greater portion have been collected and published by J. L. Delaporte.

8. PAPER MS. IN COPTIC (PLATE XLVII.). In the Sahidic dialect, written in uncials of the twelfth century, 24 leaves.

Length, about 9 inches; width, 7 inches.

Subject:—The Apocryphal Narrative of Christ by the Apostle Bartholomew.

N.B.—Translated from the lost Greek MS. Heretofore fragments only were known, consisting of thirteen leaves (from another MS.) in the following order:—

A.—7 leaves in Paris.
1 leaf in Berlin.
B.—5 leaves in Paris, found at the monastery of Dêr Amba Shenoudah, Egypt.

M. P. Lacau has published the above thirteen leaves in the *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Oriental du Caire*, Tome IX.—Fragments d'Apocryphes Coptes—Cairo, 1904. M. Lacau informed me that in the MS. published by him Christ forbore to pardon Cain and Pontius Pilate, condemning them to eternal suffering. It will also be seen by Mr. Crum's translation below that, after having saved all mankind, Christ inflicts eternal punishment on Judas Iscariot.

TRANSLATION[1]

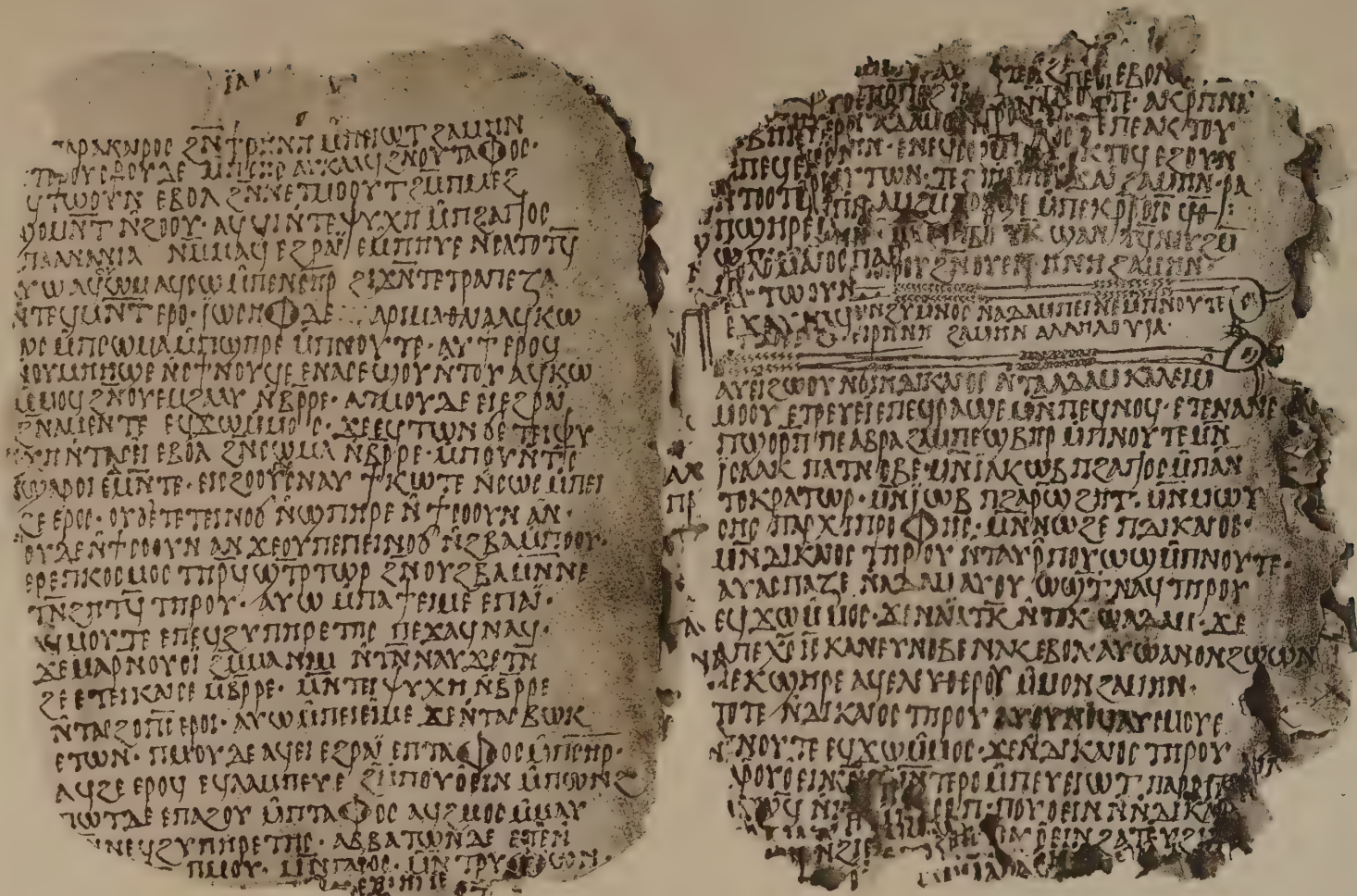
p. ια. παρα καιρος in the peace (ειρηνη) of the Father, Amen. And when they had crucified the Saviour, they laid him in a tomb, and he rose from the dead upon the third day and he took with him the soul (ψυχη) of the holy *Apa Anania* up to heaven forthwith. And he ate and drank with our Saviour at the table (τραπεζα) of his Kingdom. But (δε) Joseph of Arimathæa prepared for burial the body of the Son of God and there were put on it a number of perfumes of great price; and he placed him in a new tomb. But

[1] The order of some of the pages is uncertain.

PLATE XLVII

MS. IN COPTIC: VELLUM

See p. 110



Death came up from Hades (*amente*) saying: "Where then is this soul that lately came forth from the body? It hath not been brought to us to Hades. Lo, two days I have sought it and have not found it. What then is this great marvel? I know not; neither do I know what is this great fear this day, the whole world (κοσμος) being troubled with fear, and all that are therein. And I have not known (such a thing as) this." He called his servant (ὑπηρετης) and said to him: "Let us go to every place and see if we may find this new corpse and this new soul that hath hid itself from me. And I know not whither it is gone." And (δε) Death went into the Saviour's tomb and found it shining (λαμπευειν) with the light of life. He went to the back of the tomb and sat down there with his servants (ὑπηρετης). And *Abattôn* which [is] death, and Gaios and Tryphôn (p. ιβ) and Ophiath and Phthinôn and Sotomis and Komphiôn, which are the six sons of Death, dragged themselves on their faces into the tomb of the Son of God, in the guise of worms (?) (κολληκην[1]), creeping, with their great, veritable thief (ληστης), these robbers and these evil-doers (κακουργος) were awaiting to hear when the Saviour should go down to Hades, that they might go with him and know what he would do. The Saviour showed himself to them in the guise of a corpse, at the back of the tomb, lying upon the ground in their midst, it being the second day that he was in the heart of the earth, a napkin (σουδαριον) being bound about his face and another bound about his head.

Behold, thou too, O my son, what he with his eyes doth behold: how the sun doth stand still and riseth not upon the earth; for he hath covered his face with a napkin. And (δε) Death said to his son who is Pestilence (λοιμος): "Hath then this soul been brought to thee to Hades, which is newly dead? Hath it been brought to thy recollection (ὑπομιμνησκειν)? Hast thou entered it in the great reckoning (αριθμος)? Tell me, for I am troubled with fear and know not what hath happened this day. The place hath been afraid in my presence, the air (αηρ) hath been disturbed, the firmament

[1] ? σκωλήκιον.

(στερεωμα) hath been troubled, the hours have been cut short and the nights changed and the day increased.

fol. 2. my mouth at (?) the door . . . the fire burnt, . . . ashamed, . . . Hell-fire was . . . was relaxed (ατονειν), the servants (ὑπηρετης) ceased to . . . were ashamed, my forerunners (προδρομος) ceased to . . . the angels were scattered . . . (asked) me saying, Who art thou, O . . . I have not found strength in thee (?) Thou art a . . . for thou hast greatly troubled me . . . (thou hast) dissolved (me); and I it is who do dissolve every man. Behold, I knew not what thou art in this form." But Jesus loosed the napkin that was about his face and he looked at Death and laughed at him. And Death beheld the Saviour laughing and was troubled, and he went backward and fell to the ground together with his six sons. Once more Death arose and went up to the corpse of Jesus, being afraid and terrified, while his little ones went backward. Jesus again looked at Death and laughed, and again Death said to him, "Who art thou? Tell me. Perhaps thou art the firstborn of the Father, the Holy Lamb. Surely thou art not . . . I shall know thee. They will not . . . thus. For I know . . .

fol. b. expect . . . they weep and cry out to . . . saying, "God, good and merciful and pitiful, (have) pity on us and open the prison and send thy beloved Son to have compassion on us and to take pity on us. O God, . . . and take us in to thy Kingdom . . . (tell) me who thou art and I will . . . ; for (thou) not . . . that I should be ashamed before thy . . . thou art not a powerful man (δυνατος) that I should fear before thy power (?). And thou art not an old man, before whose reverend grey hairs I should be ashamed. Neither art thou a boy, that I should be ashamed before thy youth; nor art thou a short-lived (child), that I should be ashamed before thy littleness; nor art thou a bridegroom, that I should be ashamed before thy bridal (state). Of (such as) these I am master." Thus spake Death to the corpse of the Son of God; for he knew not that it was the king our Saviour, (king) indeed of all the kings of

the earth, (that) had come to us out of Heaven and given us life again. For he had said, "Thou art not a powerful man" (δυνατος). He knew not indeed that it (=corpse) was the firmly established power (δυναμις) . . . but he had come in littleness, for our (salvation). . . . He was not a boy, but . . . and manhood, because of . . . He had passed thirty years . . . world, till he took (baptism?) and fol. 3.
gave us his . . . his revered blood . . . saying, Who art thou that laughest . . . I inquire, indeed I speak . . . belongeth (?) not to thee . . . six (?) children. Tell me . . . cease to be terrified. How is it that thou (refusest) to answer me? For behold, it is two days since a warning (σημανια) reached me saying, "Watch thyself; suffer them not to rob (συλᾶν) thee." For I remember that voice; but lo, thou dost . . . me and laughest me to scorn. For I will not pass by thee, but I will remain by thee till thou reveal unto me who thou art. Verily (ἁπλως) I am mighty in my power; thou canst not deceive me." Thus spake Abbatôn the angel, which is Death, to the corpse of the Son of God. And the living Saviour *Iaô* . . . mounted upon the great chariot of the cherubim, all of fire and shining (λαμπευειν) with the . . . of life, while a great . . . and archangels . . . at the door of the tomb . . . cherubim and seraphim and the twenty-four elders, the powers (? δυναμις) . . . and a multitude of . . . that could not be numbered . . .

him. And he . . . broke their . . . of iron, and their . . . doorposts fol. b
did . . . He bore off their . . . Hades a desert, and he put in chains the shameless (?) . . . of Satan and chained the . . .[1] of Melchir and set up . . . of iron. Jesus went down . . . and he scattered it, and put in chains the devil and redeemed Adam and all his sons. He saved man and had pity upon his image (εικων); he freed (ελευθερουν) all creation and all the world, he healed his Son, whom the enemy had smitten (πληγειν). He turned again the sheep that had wandered once more to his fold, the holy, trusty Shepherd. And he turned Adam once more to his first state (αρχη) and did

[1] Here Lacau's text, p. 43.

forgive them their sins. In peace, Amen. Then the Saviour turned to the man that had betrayed (παραδιδοναι) him, namely, Judas Iscariot, and said to him, "O Judas, what (profit haddest) thou in betraying me? . . . Jewish dogs? Yet I . . . all pains till I should accomplish (the will?) of my Father, and should redeem and . . . the creature (πλασμα) that I had formed . . . twofold . . .

fol. 4. in the book of life . . . wash out his name from . . . the saints and took away his inheritance . . . of the living and they brake his . . . and they poured forth the oil of his jar (ἀγγειον) . . . and they rent his robe (στολη), and the . . . with him and he went forth disgraced . . . bishopric. They seized his inheritance (?) and strangers seized his labours quickly. He was clothed in curses, as in a garment, and was poured out like water. They seized his robe of pride and extinguished the light of his lamp. They made his house a desert; his days were shortened and his lifetime ceased, enduring not (?). Trouble came upon him; light went and left him; darkness came to him and worms inherited him; he clothed himself in a moth-eaten (?) robe. The angels that follow the Lord overturned him;[1] they cut out his tongue; they tore forth the light of his eyes; they tore off the hair of his head; they (filled?) his mouth with thirty snakes (δρακων) (which should) devour him, namely . . . the first, the distance from . . . evil jealousy . . .

fol. b. the 5th, envy (φθονος) . . . the 7th, pride (?), the 8th, strife, the 9th, gossiping, the 10th, . . . the 11th, slandering (καταλαλια), the 12th, hypocrisy, the 13th . . . the 14th . . . the 15th, gluttony, the 16th, cursing, the 17th, wrath (οργη), the 18th, treachery (επιβουλη), the 19th, leading (others) astray, the 20th, lying, the 21st, rashness (τολμηρος), the 22nd, contempt, the 23rd, lying (?), the 24th, laying traps (for others), the 25th, folly, the 26th, laziness, the 27th, resistance to the truth (?), the 28th, cunning, the 29th, greed, the 30th . . . These are the thirty snakes . . . devoured *Judas* . . . thirty fears (?).

fol. 5. the Jews and . . . that he received in his face (?) . . . in outer

[1] From here till * missing in Lacau.

darkness . . . shall not remember him. And there is no inquiry for . . . there shall be no remembrance of him . . . time." These are the curses that the Saviour[1] . . . in Hades. And the Saviour arose (from the) dead on the third day. And Abbatôn . . . and he saw not the corpse of Jesus the Son of God, that spake with him. He said to his son Pestilence (λοιμος), "Haste and run down to Hades, make thyself well secure (ἀσφαλιζειν). Close the doors of Hades, until I see who this is that hath deceived me when I knew it not. For when we would talk with him, he hid himself from us. Perhaps he is the Son of God, that dissolveth all men. As for him indeed, I have not found power over him, neither have my six sons." *And Death* went in to Hades with his six sons and he found Hades barren and desert, with not one soul therein. But all its doors were . . . and their posts were . . . and their bolts (μοχλος) broken and their strong iron . . . destroyed . . . three (?) . . . upset and troubles and . . . (gnashing) of teeth, the place of fol. b.
sighing and . . . and the unresting worm. Woe unto them! . . . the angels singing the hymn . . . that which the Seraphim . . . light of the Lord's day (κυριακη) upon the . . . morning of the Lord's day . . . they went out to the tomb, did the holy women, Maria Magdalene and Maria the (wife) of James, whom he had saved from Satan and Salome the temptress (πιραζειν) and Maria the serving-woman (διακονειν) and Maria the sister and Susanna wife of Chousa the steward (επιτροπος) of Herod, who had forsaken the (marriage) bed, and Berenice in whom the fount of blood had ceased in Caphernaum, and Lia the widow whose son God had raised up unto her from the dead, and the sinful woman, to whom the Saviour had said, "Thy great sins are forgiven thee. Go in peace." And they were standing in the garden of Philogenes the gardener (κηπουρος), whose son the Saviour had healed, and Simon, at the time that he was coming down from the Mount of Olives, and all his apostles. Maria said to Philogenes, "If thou . . .

[1] Lacau, p. 45.

Philogenes said to her . . . mother (?), *Mtharka, Mar* . . . the joy . . .

fol. 6. and I . . . Philogenes (said), "O my sister . . . words thou sayest; O thou holy Virgin (παρθενος) of Christ. For from the hour when the Jews crucified Jesus and went to . . . closed tomb and placed him therein . . . his disciples, lest they come and take him at night. But I said to them, 'There is . . . near by my vegetable garden. Bring him (and put him) there. I will watch him;' I thinking the while in my heart, that when the Jews had gone and departed to their houses, I would go into the tomb of my Lord and would take him and put perfumes upon him and much incense. And (δε) they brought him and placed him therein and sealed (σφραγιζειν) it and went to their houses. But at midnight I arose and went to the door of the tomb of my Lord. I found the whole angelic host drawn up, the first rank of Cherubim numbering 12,000, the second rank of Seraphim 13,000, the third rank of Powers (δυναμις) 20,000, the fourth rank of Virgins (παρθενος) 30,000. Thousands of thousands were round about it, and a great . . . standing there, being of fire . . . and other . . .

fol. b. singing (ὑμνενειν) in the language of the Seraphim (?), all . . . saying, 'Amen' . . . the 7 (?) firmaments (στερεωμα) . . . together. And the Father came forth . . . tabernacle (σκηνη) of light, and he went to the Lord's tomb . . . and raised him from the dead . . . all the . . . I saw them, O my sister, M[aria] . . . I saw Peter there, the great . . . of Jesus, and he took hold of me and . . . I should give up and die, because of . . . altar (?) and the great glory which . . . *O Mary, my sister*, what shall I do in order to attain to that place?" When Philogenes had spoken thus, the Saviour came into their presence, borne upon the Father's great chariot (ἁρμα), and he cried in the tongue of his divinity, saying, "*Marichar, Mariath*," whereof the interpretation is, Mariham, the Mother of the Son of God, and Maria knew the interpretation of the words and said, "*Hrambouné* (Rabboni), *Kathiathari miôth*," whereof the translation is, "the Son of the Almighty (παντοκρατωρ) and teacher and my son." He said to her, "Hail

my Mother, hail my holy ark (κιβωτος), hail thou that didst carry the life of the whole world, hail my holy robe (στολη) wherewith I clothed myself. Hail my holy vessel (ὑδρια) of hot[1] water. Hail my Mother, my house, my dwelling-place, . . . my Mother, my city, my place of refuge . . .
the whole of Paradise . . . O my Mother . . . who did carry . . . fol. 7.
womb, O my Mother . . . thou saidest to my brethren '. . . say to them, Go . . . (my) Father and my God . . . Lord who is your Lord. And remember all the words that I said to you. For I shall come to you to-morrow, at the hour of light (= sunrise), which is also the hour when I stretch forth my shining right hand and the sun riseth upon the earth, and also the hour when I move my spiritual robe (στολη) sitting on my Father's right, and the dew of the Paradise of the seventh heaven goes down upon the whole earth and it is drunken and giveth forth living fruits. I shall come to you at that hour and give you my peace, which I received from my Holy Father. And He gave it me and I brought it to the world to give it to you, my disciples. Every one that shall believe on my name and my truly virgin mother, Maria, my spiritual womb, my treasure of pearl, the ark (κιβωτος) of the sons of Adam, she that did carry the body of the Son of God and his blood . . ., he that took away the sins of the world . . . light of his . . .
(our) salvation, our King . . . our helper (βοηθος) our . . . saying . . . fol. b.
thee (*Maria*) in the . . . blessing . . . apostles believe . . . Jesus." I beheld[2] the Son of God standing upon the chariot of the Father . . . thousands of thousands of archangels also standing, and thousands of thousands of Cherubim, and 10,000 of 10,000 of Seraphim and of Powers (δυναμις), their heads bent down, answering to the blessing and saying, 'Amen, Alleluja,' that which our Saviour would say with his mouth to Maria. Then our Saviour stretched forth his right hand that was full of blessing and blessed the womb of Maria his Mother, and I beheld the heavens open of themselves and the seven

[1] *Sic.* Read "full of water."
[2] Here Lacau, p. 57, col. 2.

firmaments did open; and I saw a man of light, shining (λαμπρος), a pearl, upon whom no man could look; and (I saw) another hand of fire of the colour of snow (χιων) placed upon the belly of Maria and her breast, and it was the Father's hand and the right hand of the Son and the right hand of the Holy Spirit. And he blessed it (= the womb). . . .

fol. 8. All said Amen . . . call thee (Maria) the well (πηγη) of life . . . divine blood from out . . . Alleluja and he gave to drink to the . . . who had had to drink were sinless. Amen, Alleluja . . . the powers (δυναμις) of heaven . . . because of her fruit . . . Alleluja. Thou shalt be called in (heaven) Pearl of the Father, and thou art called on earth she that bare God and our Salvation. May the Father's blessing be with thee always, Amen. Alleluja. The power of the Son shall overshadow thee, Amen. Alleluja. The joy of the Holy Spirit shall remain with you always, Amen. Alleluja. And when thou shalt go forth from the body, I will come and my Father and Michael and all the angels, and thou shalt be with us in my Kingdom. And thy body will I cause the Cherubim with the fiery sword to watch over and other 1200 (*sic*) angels shall watch over it, until the day of my appearing (παρουσια) and my . . .

fol. b. . . . Galilee . . . and I will give you my peace which . . . did give me when I was coming into the world . . . Maria, making the offering (προσφορα) . . . the body and blood of Christ . . . Maria in (?) them . . . the great bishop . . . thee, O Maria; for thou . . . the first . . . the angel brought out of thy . . . till thou didst bear him upon the earth; and he chose us also to be his disciples. And thou too wert the first to whom he showed himself, when about to go to the Father. O blessed thy womb, which thou didst bear till thou hadst borne for us the King of Glory."

And all the Apostles rejoiced with great joy when they heard that the Lord was arisen from the dead, through Maria His Mother. But the Saviour went to ascend up to heaven, mounted on the chariot of the Father of all, all the captivity (αιχμαλωσια) of the sons of Adam

following after him, in the likeness of a king that (returned) from war. He overcame his enemies and he . . . their destruction. And thou shalt find it . . . concerning his men whom he had . . .

the Saviour Jesus our Lord, going and . . . the angels going with him fol. 9. . . . the whole world from their sins. And the Seraphim sang to him until (he reached) the seventh heaven. And also . . . the tabernacle (σκηνη) of the Father, unspeakable . . . Father upon his throne . . . greeted (ασπαζειν) his beloved son and kissed his head. The great diadems of glory and blessing, which lighted the whole world (αιων) at that time,—O my brother apostles, believe me, Bartholomew, the apostle, if I should but set about speaking of the things that were there, at the time when the father set a diadem upon his son's head, I should not be able to write them in all the time that I shall pass upon earth. Further, not only do not allow this book to go into the hands of any unbeliever and heretic. Lo, (this is) the seventh time that I have charged thee, O my son Thaddæus, concerning these mysteries, not to reveal them to any impure man; but keep them safely. For I did . . . our Saviour, (how) he caused Michael to persevere (προσκαρτερειν) with me, till I should see these mysteries. . . . .

It is not in my power that I . . . in this fashion. For I saw the fol. b. . . . on the 15th of Parmoute (the month), in the . . . at Pentecost, in peace . . . (when the) Father had set the diadem upon the head of his beloved son, he said to him, while the whole . . . listened, saying, "Peace to thee . . . for thou art the King of peace and . . . by the will of thy father." And he said to the angels, "Sing every noble hymn for the pleasure of my son. For this is the day of joy, the day of gladness, the day of rejoicing, the day of happiness (ευφροσυνη), the day of immortality, the shining day, the day of freedom (ελευθερια) unto salvation, the day of the remission of sins. For this is the day whereon my son, who is the Lord of you all, did redeem the whole world from their sins." And the Father said to him, "Come and sit upon my right, my beloved son, upon whom hath been my desire. And I am thy father, (and) there is no other god but thee in

heaven and upon earth. I will put thine enemies beneath thy feet and thou shalt be king from (the wood) of the cross, and thou shalt . . .
fol. 10. remain for ever . . . my beloved Son . . . through my blessings. For thou art . . .; thou art the security . . . bridegroom, thou art the . . . father; thou art the Son . . . holy comforter (παρακλητος), Amen." . . . the Father . . . sit upon the throne of pearl of light. *And I saw* too, the Saviour sitting on his Father's right, and thousands of thousands of archangels and the Cherubim and Seraphim and the powers (δυναμις) and authorities (εξουσια) and the twelve virtues (αρετη) of the holy Spirit and the twenty-four Elders and the seven aeons (αιων) and the patriarchs and the prophets and all the righteous, came together and worshipped the Son of God, saying, "Holy, holy, holy is the King, the Son of God, the Son of the King, and his good (ἀγαθος) Father and the Holy Ghost. The earth is full of the Lord's mercy and pity; and he hath saved . . . (?) man whom he hath made (?). He hath forgiven him his sins and all his children. In peace, Amen . . . and his children . . .

fol. b. Glory unto thee, Holy Spirit . . . every blessing. Amen . . . Thou art the . . . shepherd of the sheep . . . of life. Amen. Thou . . . Thou too it is didst redeem . . . of every blessing. Amen . . . of life. Amen. Glory (to thee) . . . Amen. Glory to thee . . . Glory to thee . . . immortal, Amen. Glory to thee, thou king of peace. Amen. Glory to thee, thou unborn (αγεννητος). Amen. Glory to thee, thou incorruptible (αφθαρτος). Amen. Glory to thee, thou king of glory. Amen. Glory to the head (κεφαλαιον) of all. Amen. Glory to thee, thou holy and perfect (τελειος). Glory to thee, thou treasury of glory. Amen. Glory to thee, true light. Amen. Glory to thee, Saviour of all. Amen. Glory to thee, thou truly good (αγαθος). Amen. Glory to thee, beginning (αλφα) of all. Amen. Glory to thee, life of all. O, sweet name. Amen. Who is at the head of all, Amen. Thou beginning (αρχη) and end of all. Amen."

The first hymn of the angels, which all the saints said (?), for the

forgiveness of Adam and all his children. The Son of God did forgive the sins of the whole world. In peace. Amen.

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hymn of gladness (?):— fol. 11.

. . . Glory to thee, the shepherd . . . Glory to thee, steward (οικονομος) of the Father, Jesus. Amen. . . . Jesus. Amen. Glory to thee . . . Amen. Glory to thee, thou garment of the . . . Amen. Glory to thee, thou shadower (σκεπαστηρ) of them that . . . thee, . . . of them that . . ., Jesus. Amen . . . true bridegroom, Jesus. Amen. Glory to thee . . . salvation, Jesus. Amen. Glory to thee, thou blessing of Sabaoth, Jesus. Amen. Glory to thee, the joys of the ages (αιων), Jesus. Amen. Glory to thee, the gladness of Eloi, Jesus. Amen. With all his children. In peace. Amen. Come ye to the joy of our king. Amen. Let each angel come with fruit (καρπος) and rejoice at the forgiveness of Adam and all his children, Amen. For he hath been brought back to his beginning (αρχη) as at first. In peace. Amen."

The third hymn of the angels. In peace. Amen.

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[1] The father bade bring Adam into the midst, with Eve, his wife. And straightway Michael went to Paradise and brought Adam and Eve and set them in the presence of the Father. And Adam was eighty ells high, while Eve was fifty ells. Believe me, my brother apostles, me Bartholomew the apostle: never did I see the likeness (εικων) of men since I was born into the world, either in heaven or earth, like the likeness of Adam. . . .

The armour of pearls being upon (them?), and a great crowd of fol. b. angels being . . . heavenly melodies . . . from out eyes of adamant like . . . which I saw in the tabernacle of the Father . . . distinguishing signs (χαρακτηρ, σημειον) written . . . foreheads, flesh and blood being not able to . . . and the names of the Father and

[1] Here Lacau again, p. 59.

of the Son and of the Holy Ghost being written upon their bodies with seven. . . . And the laces of the shoes of the Father that were on his feet, shone more than sun and moon seven times. Eve too was adorned with adornments of the holy Spirit, while powers (δυναμις) and virgins sang to her, in the heavenly tongue, calling her Zoe, the mother of all living. And the Father answered, saying, "O Adam, my son, though thou didst forsake my commandment (εντολη) because of thy wife, and kept it not, lo, my Son Jesus hath taken all these pains and I (?) will forgive thee thy sins, and thou too shalt become a son like him. Maria too, with whom my son did dwell, Eve also shall with her be a mother in my Kingdom." And the Father answered and said to all the angelic host (αγγελικη): "Let them bring their good tidings and their incense, and spread them before me; for I am reconciled again with my image (εικων)." Then Michael . . . this hymn to Adam, at the time . . .

fol. 12. In peace. Amen . . . good tidings. Amen. Raphael . . . (for) ever (?) . . . Amen . . . and with his fruit (καρπος). Amen . . . with his torches (? λαμπας) of light. Amen . . . with the holy oil. Amen. Asouel (with) . . . Amen . . . Aphouel with his psaltery (Amen) . . . with his robe (στολη). Amen . . . with his virginity (? παρθενια). Amen. Harmosiel of the spiritual trumpet (σαλπιγξ). Amen. Sarcion (*sic*) with his incense. Amen. Kabiel with his drum. Amen. Ouriel with the light of the sun. Amen. Ye which are the angels of light. Come ye to the joy of our king Jesus. Amen. We do rejoice all at the forgiveness of Adam and all his sons. In peace. Amen. Alleluja."

The fourth hymn of the angels.

We bless thee, king of the ages (αιων). Amen. We bless thee, thou unattainable. Amen. *êl, êl, Abba*, king, Amen. *Abriath* the redeemer that liveth. Amen. Our life-giver, Amen, and the completion of all things. Amen.

The fifth hymn of the angels, which bless the Father and Son and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Bless us, O Father, Amen. Bless us, O Son, Amen. Bless us, O Holy Ghost, Amen. Let Paradise say with us, Amen. Let the Cherubim say with us, Amen. Let the . . .
Let those in heaven say . . . Let the virgins say, Amen. Let fol. b.
the . . . Remember us . . . For thou art our pride and the . . . salvation, our life, our refuge, our . . . our helper, our strength, our . . . his mercy on every one, Amen. Alleluja.

The sixth hymn of the angels.

Then, when Adam beheld the great honour and this gift that was to be his and all his children's, how that the Son of God had forgiven them their sins, he spake this hymn, saying, "I will bless God who hath remembered me. Angels of joy, come and rejoice with me; for God's Son hath set me free, me and my wife, and hath saved me and all my children also. All ye righteous of the earth, come and rejoice with me; for Christ, the Son of God, hath made me sinless. For this is the day and the hour of gladness, that for which (?) my father Michael the archangel and all the angelic host (αγγελικη) begged, on behalf of all my seed, till God Almighty had pity on me and all my children and was reconciled to my (*sic*) creation (πλασμα) that he had formed. For this is his image and likeness. In peace." And Michael and Gabriel and Raphael and . . . ouel and Sarouphouel, his six companions, fell down and worshipped the Father and (the Son) . . . .
God. Thou didst have pity . . . Adam also, thou didst . . . the fol. 13.
way of life, Amen . . . Adam, in the joy of thy King Jesus. Amen . . . on thy account, till he should save . . . all the . . . In peace, Amen.

The eighth hymn of Adam, the image of God most high. In peace. Amen. Alleluja.

And the righteous (δικαιος) too came, whom Adam had summoned (καλειν) to come into his joy and his gladness; and these were: first Abraham the friend of God, and Isaak the sinless, and Jacob the holy (ἁγιος) of the Almighty, and Job the patient, and Moses the archprophet, and Noah the just, and all the righteous that had done the will of God. They all greeted Adam and worshipped him saying, "Blessed art thou, Adam, for Christ Jesus hath remitted thy sins; and us also, thy children, hath he made free. Amen." Then all the righteous rejoiced and blessed God saying, "All the righteous shall shine in the kingdom of their father . . . again, the light of the righteous . . . shine before them . . . .

fol. b. all that have pleased God . . . that liveth, the body and blood of . . . whereof all that partake . . . sins. Glory to thee Jesus, the King. Glory to thee (Jesus) the true bridegroom. Glory to thee O . . . Glory to thee Jesus, father of all souls. . . ." When the righteous had finished (their hymn), they went and entered the city . . . and remained in it always . . . for ever and ever. And the angels also, when they had ended their hymns and their Amen, the father gave them his peace and dismissed them and each went to his place (τοπος) over which he ruled. In peace. Amen.

These are the hymns which the angels sang when gathered together and rejoicing, for that the Son of God was risen from the dead and had redeemed the captivity of the sons of Adam, and had taken them to heaven and given them as a gift unto his Father. In great peace, for ever and ever. Amen.

And Adam the Father set at the gate of life, that he might greet all the righteous ere they entered into Jerusalem the city of Christ. And Eve he set over all (women?) that had done God's will, to greet them ere they entered into the city of Christ.

fol. 14. my brother apostles, I have told you the mysteries that I have seen.

Rejoice . . . forgiveness of sins, which our Saviour hath . . . and all his children."

And the apostles . . . O our dear brother, Bartholomew . . . mysteries of Christ. Truly . . . worthy that the Son (of God) . . . thou hast seen these . . . that cannot be described. Truly . . . thee Bartholomew, the receiver of Christ's mysteries, until the end (συντελ) of the world. Thy name shall not cease in heaven or upon earth. Thou shalt be called Bartholomew, the bearer (?) of the mysteries of the Son of God." Bartholomew answered and said, "Forgive me, my brother apostles; I am worthless in (your?) midst, I am reprobate before all men. I am poor in my craft (τεχνη) and am (not) honoured in my life (βιος)." Multitudes behold it in the city and say, "Is not this Bartholomew, the man of Italia, the fruit gardener (κομαριτης), the vegetable-seller. Is not this he that was in fruit-garden of Hier . . . es, the ruler (αρχων) of our city . . . in his hands. . . .

fol. b.

. . . the words of poverty (?). He wrote . . . the power too of the Son of God . . . my beloved brethren, ye are the bishops whom the Saviour made (over the) whole (world?). O our father, Peter . . . the Saviour take us up to the mount and our Saviour spake with us . . . we knew it not, according to the hour . . . he revealed to us . . . *Atharath, thawrath* and . . . the seven firmaments . . . and our bodies too did . . . snow (χιων). And we looked and beheld our Saviour's body going up to heaven, his feet being firm upon the mount with us. And he stretched forth his right hand and signed (σφραγιζειν) us twelve. And we too went up on high with him, up to the tabernacle (σκηνη) of the good father, unto the seventh heaven. Then the Saviour cast himself at the Father's feet, saying, "Have mercy upon my brethren the apostles and bless them with the unending blessing." And the Father blessed thee, saying, "I and my Son Jesus and the Holy Ghost do lay hands on thee. And what thou dost loose on earth, we loose it; and also that which thou dost bind on earth, we too do bind it . . .

fol. 15.

us in thy hands . . . thy throne . . . does not. My . . . with my breath and the breath of . . . breath . . . breath of the Holy Ghost . . . whom thou shalt baptize and shalt . . . to receive the Holy Ghost, in . . . (Father and) Son and Holy Ghost . . . the Cherubim answered . . . archangels and angels . . . (he) blessed Andrew, saying . . . (shalt) become a pillar (στυλος) of strength in Jerusalem, my beloved city, in my kingdom. Amen." And he blessed James, saying, "Every city and village that thou shalt . . . shalt enter into, before thou . . . shall afterwards believe thee. Amen. And thou, John, beloved of my spirit and of my son Jesus, between whom there is no division, thou shalt be blessed in my kingdom for ever. Amen. And thou, Philip, every place whither thou shalt go and preach in the name of my dear Son and his cross of light, (I ?) will continue to go with thee, until they believe thee, for ever. Amen. And thou also, my chosen, Thomas, thy faith shall be like an eagle . . . from out . . . all the, until they believe (?) . . . through . . . for ever. Amen.

fol. b. . . . Ba[rth]olomew (?) . . . my (?) soul . . . the mysteries of my Son . . . thou too, Matthew, thy wonders . . . until thy shadow reach many . . . that had become corpses. So soon as thy shadow . . . shall be in great power and . . . And James, son of Alphæus, . . . the devil be able to . . . in any place. But what thou (shalt) . . . indivisible for ever. Amen . . . there shall no . . . because of the . . . (ἁρμος ?) of the holy Spirit . . . a holy begetting. Amen. And (thou) . . . the son of James, the place where thy footprints shall rest, their sins will I forgive and they shall believe on my (?) name through thee . . . long suffering. In peace, Amen. (And thou) Thaddæus, my beloved, every place where thou shalt establish the word of my Son, no devilish thought shall be able to approach it, because of the purity of thy soul. Amen. And thou, Matthias, the blessed apostle, thy perfume shall go through all the world and the heavens. For thou wert a rich man according to the world and didst forsake all for my son Jesus' sake, the . . . of my loins (= side) and . . . of my heart . . . my tongue. In peace. Amen. The angels

and archangels and the cherubim and seraphim . . . and the twenty-four Elders . . .

heard the blessing which the Father spake upon . . . And we for our part did reply all (saying) Alleluja. So now, my brethren the Apostles, forgive me. It is not I, Bartholomew, the apostle that am honoured." fol. 16.

Then all the apostles arose and kissed the head of Bartholomew, and said to him: "Well done, our dear brother Bartholomew, and (good is) the humility wherewith thou hast humbled thyself." And when the Apostles had said this, they made the offering (προσφορα), Mariham being with them, she whom the Saviour Jesus had sent to them, saying, "Call them to me to-morrow, to Galilee, that I may give you (*sic*) my peace." But when they had partaken of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, they were glad and did . . . the philanthropic God. And the smoke of the sacrifice (θυσια) brought forth (? ενεργειν) a rich perfume, even up to the throne of the Father. And the Father smelled the perfume of the Apostles and had pity on their request and heard their prayer. And the Father answered and said unto His Son, "Arise, my beloved Son, and go down to thy disciples (μαθητης) and comfort them and . . .

he left us behind him (or forsook us) in the midst of the cities (?)" . . . (p. $\overline{\mu\beta}$.)

Then the Son of God arose (and went) to Galilee. And he found his disciples . . . gathered together. But Jesus showed himself to them and said to them: "Hail, Peter, my bishop (επισκοπος), the crown of the Apostles. Hail, my honoured fellow members, whom I have chosen one by one. Hail, my brethren and my children. My Father's peace be with you, which is (also) mine, which I received of my Father, that it might remain with you always." And he breathed in their faces and said, "Receive the Holy Ghost. Those whose sins ye shall forgive, I will forgive; and those ye shall retain, I will retain." And he showed them[1] the nail-prints that were in his hands, and the lance (mark) that (was in his side), and the spittle in his face, and the

[1] Lacau ends here.

great . . . that were in his eyes, and the thorn-marks of the thorn crown that were on his head. And he raised up his hands over them and blessed them, saying: "O my holy members (μελος), take courage; be not afraid. My Father giveth you the wage of . . . which is the two . . . which the Saviour did . . . his disciples . . . arisen from the dead . . . all the apostles did . . . after they had . . .

fol. 17. p. μξ? while they greatly wept. And Jesus raised them up, saying, "Arise, weep not for me, for I am already risen from the dead and am gone to my Father . . . O Peter, knowest thou not that even as . . . that departeth (αποδημειν) afar off, and that hath . . . sons (?)." And they wept for him saying . . . and with whom thou wilt sojourn." And he replied saying, "Lo, here is your elder brother. I have set him over you. Obey him even like me. For when ye obey him, it is me that ye obey. And thou, *O Peter*, my beloved, behold, I have set thee as father over all thy brethren. And do thou comfort thy younger brethren, the apostles, encouraging them, till they have finished their course (δρομος) in the world. And I and my Father, we will be with you always. Amen. I say unto you, O my blessed disciples, that your names are written upon my right hand. At all times I remember you. And Mariham also, lo, I have entrusted her to you. And ye, do not ye cast her forth from you." When the Saviour had said this, the apostles arose and kissed the side of Jesus and (took?) of his living blood that flowed forth from (it. And he) signed (σφραγιζειν) them therewith . . . (said to them) "My holy members (μελος) lo . . .

(p. μδ?) powerful shadow. Ye shall raise up the dead, and the blind shall see and the lame walk and the dumb speak (and the deaf) hear and the poor ye shall . . . all my wonders which I did when I was with you in the world. For when I shall be gone to my Father, ye shall do beyond these things, till ye gather together my sheep that have wandered." When the Saviour had said these things, he blessed them and went up to heaven, while the angels of glory sang before him.

And the apostles rejoiced greatly because the Son of God had blessed them. But (δε) Thomas that was called Didymus, was not there present when the Lord came, but had gone to his city. For they had brought news to him saying, "Thy son hath died." And Thomas went and found that it was the seventh day since he had died. And he went forthwith to the place where he was buried and cried out, saying, "Siôphanes, my beloved, arise in the name of Jesus Christ, the son of the living God, arise and stand upon thy feet, that I may speak with thee." And straightway Siôphanes arose, with the glory of Jesus in his face, and did obeisance to his father . . . joyfully, and his son replied . . .

the gift (δωρεα) of Jesus had reached the whole city on his account. fol. 18. (με, μ̄ṡ̄ ?)
And Siôphanes replied saying to his father: "Blessed art thou, O my father, from the Lord; for thou hast believed on the Lord, the Son of God. Lo, I tell thee, my father, at the time when they came after me, to separate my soul from my body, there came a great and mighty angel, with a fine linen cloth (μαππα), and a crowd of angels beside, all girt with golden belts (φασκια) about their loins, and with incense. That angel is named Michael, the angel of mercy. They all stood by me, their faces smiling upon me. And Michael signed (σφραγιζειν) my mouth in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And forthwith my soul did leap forth from my body and sat upon Michael's hand; and he wrapped it in the linen cloth (μαππα) and they went with it up to heaven, singing (ὑμνευειν) (before it). And when they reached the river of fire, Michael put me down from his hands and I went (into) it, as it were a little river of water. And after that we had (passed by) the river of fire, as it were (ὡστε) if I should say . . . the place I saw . . . fire . . . a coal . . . river . . . cross over it . . .

light of Michael lighted me, till I . . . After we had passed it by, (p. μ̄ṡ̄)
we went up to heaven (?). And he took me up to the Acherousian Lake and washed me therein thrice. Thereafter a voice from on high (said), "O angels, bringers of good tidings, take this soul to

the abodes (τοπος) of eternity and the Paradise of life that are in heaven (επουρανιον), that it may behold the places (τοπος) of the apostles and their crowns and their thrones." And straightway Michael took me to a place called "the tabernacle (σκηνη) of the Father," and I beheld your twelve thrones of shining pearl (μαργαριτης), your twelve crowns being set about with precious stones and topazes and emeralds (σμαραγδος) and lighting up the whole city of Christ. And I beheld also twelve white robes (στολη) lying upon the thrones of mercy (or ? spiritual thrones); besides twelve trees laden with fruit at all times and shading each of the thrones; while twelve eagles with human face spread their wings above them, an eagle to each throne; and a name of the twelve apostles written upon each of the thrones; and twelve veils (καταπετασμα) being drawn about each throne; with a canopy of jewels spread above each throne; and a thousand angels serving (or ? singing) at each throne. And I worshipped, I Siôphanes, and said to Michael, the archangel, "Whose (?) are these thrones . . .

fol. 19. ([μξ] μη.) twelve thrones of (?) the twelve holy (ἁγιος) disciples, that did follow Jesus the Son of God, in the world. Wherefore God did set these thousand angels to sing hymns (ὑμνευειν) concerning them, until they should finish their course and be seated thereon, being kings with the Son of God in his kingdom." I answered saying unto Michael: "My Lord, show me the throne of my father; for I have not been able to read the writing that is written upon the thrones." And Michael took me to the midst of the thrones and showed it me. And as soon as I approached it, the light of the pearl (μαργαριτης) and of the thousand angels and their glory continuing to shine in their faces, I wished to sit down upon it. And the angels forbade (κωλευειν) me, saying, "Except thy father, none is able to sit thereon. It hath not been given unto any of flesh and blood to sit upon these thrones, except unto his (?) Apostles alone." And I went and . . . the thrones, and the thousand angels blessed me with a great and heavenly blessing, in peace. Amen." Then Michael brought me to

Paradise. And the . . . of Paradise besought me saying, "Come . . . O, the first of the Apostles . . . I and Michael the archangel. . . .
thou didst pray to God, Jesus Christ. And Michael (took) my (p. $\overline{\mu\eta}$)
soul and placed it in my body again, and I rose alive and talked with thee now." Thomas replied saying to his son: "Blessed art thou, my son, for God's grace hath reached thee and thou hast seen this great glory." And when Thomas had said these things, he went with his son to the city, and went straightway into his house. And when those in the house saw him, they fell upon their faces and became as though dead. And they went to them and raised them up. And he talked with them and told them how his father had talked with him and had raised him from the dead, and how he had beheld the glory and honour of heaven. For Thomas went not in unto his house, because of the wonders that he had done, but remained without the city, for the multitude also . . . believed on the Lord. And the news spread through all the city that Siôphanes, the son of Thomas, had arisen from the dead. And the whole multitude gathered at the door of the house, wherein the youth was; and they saw him and marvelled. And they . . . the youth and asked of him, saying, "Who . . .

Italy (*ιταλια sic*). And when I had . . . they brought me forth to the fol. 20.
tomb and buried me. And they took my soul up to heaven and showed me the abodes (*τοπος*) of immortality. And I passed seven days below the trees of Paradise of the heavenly Jerusalem, being shaded by their leaves. My body likewise did Michael the archangel sign (*σφραγιζειν*) with his finger in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. It did not spoil, neither did it stink, nor was it dissolved in those seven days, and it was wholly in good condition (*ευφραινειν*), being red like a rose. For I must needs return unto it once more, for the salvation and saving of my city. But after the seven days, the (*sic*) father heard that I had died and he came and raised me up from the dead, in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Ghost. In peace. Amen."

When the multitude had heard these things, they cast them down and worshipped him, saying, "We beg thee, show us the place where the servant (ὑπηρετης) of Christ is, that we also may believe on him." And when the multitude had said this, the youth ran before them and brought them to . . . and took them to the place where the Apostle (was). And when they had seen him, they fell down . . .

fol. b. Blessed art thou in thy coming (?) in . . . And there is none except thee, Jesus, the Christ, the Son of the living God." When the whole multitude had thus spoken, the Apostle blessed them and baptized twelve thousand men of them that day. And he drew out for them the foundations of the church, and appointed (καθισταναι) Siôphanes bishop of the church. And he let them depart (απολυειν) and sent them away in peace. Amen. Thomas, the apostle, rejoiced in the spirit and blessed God, saying, "My Lord, Jesus Christ, I thank thee always that thou didst give me thy peace and I went to the city and drew up at the harbour of peace (?), with my ship, safe and sound. I found the harbour with the demons (δαιμονιον) troubling (?) there. Thereafter I had patience (ὑπομενειν) and overcame them by thy power. I drew them in my fishing-nets as . . . of the king Jesus. Many were found filthy with sin; I made them white in the blood of Christ Jesus. My Lord Jesus Christ (did?) set me on board the ship of salvation and brought me to the harbour of peace. I rejoiced in my heart and called a multitude in unto his marriage." When the blessed apostle had spoken thus, he mounted upon the cloud and it brought him to the Mount of Olives and he found the Apostles expecting . . . He (?) said to them (?) . . .

fol. 21. inheritance (κληρος) of my Lord Jesus Christ, (who) gathered them together, in the peace of the Father. Hail, my brethren, the apostles, the crown of life." They likewise replied, "Hail, servant of Jesus Christ. Thou didst go to raise up a dead man; thou didst raise up many cities, in the baptism and the seal (σφραγις) of the Father and Son and Holy Ghost." And Peter said to Thomas, "O my brother, summoned unto the marriage of my Lord Jesus Christ, I say unto you,

O our brother, that our Lord Jesus hath shown himself unto us, from the time that thou didst depart from us, after that he was risen from the dead, ere he departed, until he did depart. He gave us his peace and we kissed (ασπαζειν) him and he blessed us and went up to heaven from us. He said to us, 'I am with you always, I and my Father and the Holy Spirit.'" When the blessed apostle Peter had said this to (?) Thomas, Thomas was greatly grieved and wept much, saying, "So then, after that thou wert risen from the dead, O my Lord, thou didst show thyself to the apostles; while me thou didst separate (from) my brethren, and wouldest not to show thyself unto me . . .

that I might see thee ere thou didst depart to . . . But (πλην) as the name of my Lord Jesus Christ liveth, unless I thrust my finger into the nail-marks and place my hand upon the lance-mark, I will not believe that he is risen from the dead. For I do not believe that he will ascend and not have shown himself to me. And he will not grieve me. For he said to us, 'I will not separate you one from another. But this same inheritance (κληρος) shall be yours in my kingdom.'" And when the apostle Thomas had said this in presence of the eleven disciples, he wept. The apostles answered, in Thomas's presence, saying, "O our Lord brother, be not unbelieving (απιστος) as to the resurrection of our Saviour, but believe that he is risen and hath ascended to his Father. And we are the first to whom he showed himself, with Mariham his Mother." Thomas answered again, saying, "I believe that he hath arisen and that he is deathless; for he tasted death for the salvation of us all. And by reason of (?) great grief I doubted (διστασζειν) that . . . fol. b.

hear me, O my brother Thomas. Remember the word that the Saviour spake in the gospel, saying, 'If ye have faith &c.' So now, O Thomas, God heareth the request of every one that believeth on him. God is good (αγαθος) and heareth every one that calleth upon him. Mighty is God and long-suffering; he will hear the prayer of them that seek him always." When Bartholomew had said this to Thomas, the Saviour came before them and cried out (or, showed himself), saying, fol. 22.

"Hail Thomas, the little man, hail flower of Paradise in the seventh heaven. I have made the faith (?) to be established in heaven and (?) on earth, (so that?) none may upset it. I have made Peter the great crown of the apostles, and ye . . .

fol. b. my fellow-heirs, my peace (be) with you all." When the Saviour had said this to the apostles, forthwith they went and worshipped him upon the ground, saying, "Thy grace and thy peace be with us, Jesus. Amen." The Saviour Jesus replied to Thomas, saying, "Give me here thy finger, and lay it upon my hand and see the nail-marks, and behold too the blows that were given me in the face, and the spittle that they cast into my face and eyes, and the thorn-marks from the crown of thorns that they fixed upon my head, and the blows of the reeds wherewith they smote my head. And (come and) see the vinegar and the lance and the gall wherewith they slaked me, instead of the little water that I begged, saying, 'Give me to drink'; and be not unbelieving but believing and believe fully (καλως)." Thomas answered, saying, "I believe, my Lord, and my God, that thou art the Father and thou art the Son and thou art the Holy Ghost, and thou didst rise from the dead and didst . . . all men by thy blessed resurrection. But I said to my brother apostles . . .

fol. 23. (νε νῆ.) unless I behold him (after) he has risen, I will not believe." The Saviour answered, saying to him: "Verily I say unto thee, O Thomas, the little man, in every place where thou shalt preach my name, I will be with thee, and my good Father. And thou shalt not enter a single town nor a single village but I will follow thee, with my good Father and the Holy Spirit. For what thou shalt plant and my Father bless, that will I too increase (αυξανειν) and the Holy Spirit shall preside over it." Then Thomas stretched forth his finger and took out of the blood that flowed forth from the side of the Son of God and signed himself therewith. And the Saviour answered and said to all the Apostles, "Lo, my divine blood hath cleft unto your bodies and ye are become divine also, even as I. Behold, I am with you until the world's end (συντελεια,

αιων)." When the Saviour had said this, he went up to heaven in great glory, saying, "Neglect (αμελειν) not, Peter and thy brethren . . . feed them . . .

Until ye have gathered all the world in to my honoured church, p. $\overline{vs}$.
and they live with an imperishable life and they partake of (my) divine body and honoured blood and live in peace. Amen. He opened the (?) eyes of the apostles and they passed (?) many days, marvelling at his ascent into heaven. This is the second time that the Saviour showed himself to his disciples, after that he had risen from the dead. This is the book of the resurrection (αναστασις) of Jesus Christ our Lord, in joy and gladness, in peace. Amen. Peter answered and said, "O my brothers the apostles, arise and offer the offering (προσφορα) ere ye separate one from another." Then the apostles answered and said to him, "Thou art our father and our bishop (επισκοπος). The power is thine to do what pleaseth thee in all things." And the apostles arose and made preparations for the offering (προσφορα). They brought the choice bread and a cup of pure wine (ακρατος) and a vessel of incense. And Peter stood by the sacrifice (θυσια) and all the apostles made a crown at the table (τραπεζα). And the apostles awaited the . . .

The table (τραπεζα) . . . and they rejoiced . . . worshipped fol. 24.
. . . the Son of God . . . seated . . . his father, his body being upon the table, while they were gathered thereat and divided it. And they beheld the blood of Jesus pouring out (as) living blood into the cup. And Peter answered and said, "Hear me, my fathers and brethren. God hath loved us beyond all the peoples of the earth, and hath let us see these great honours, and Our Lord Jesus Christ hath let us behold and hath revealed to us the glory of his body and divine blood." When he had thus spoken, thereafter they partook of the body and blood of Christ, and glorified the treasury (θησαυρος) of life. Then they (separated) and preached in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, which make . . . Holy Trinity, consubstantial, from now henceforth and for ever. Amen.

In the name . . . : (of the Father, &c.) the holy consubstantial Trinity . . . This good (αγαθον) work (was done) for the profit (ωφελια) . . . this great gift (δωρον) . . . the *Book of the Resurrection* (αναστασις) (of Jesus Christ the Son of) God and the man . . . and he wrote Jesus Christ . . . and took thought for (it) with all good (αγαθος) care and all good . . . of his soul. And he wrote (it) on his own parchment (μεμβρανον) and presented it to the worshipful church of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, which is built in *Illartè*, which God the Demiurge of all wrote for the salvation of his soul and for profit (and ?) use; that all the world, male and female (*sic*). But the good God and rewarder of all . . .

(The remainder a confusion of various stereotyped phrases.)

9. FOUR COPTIC MSS. ON VELLUM (PLATE XLVIII). They are all written in the Sahidic dialect in uncials of ninth to tenth century.

These are the four volumes referred to at the beginning of Chapter I. as being in better condition than the rest and as having been acquired by the British Museum.

A. An incomplete volume, 18 leaves; the beginning is missing.

Length, $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches; width, $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Subject:—Sermon on Gabriel (from the 47th page to the end). Dedicated by Sisinnios to the Church of Gabriel at Esneh. A.D. 974.

B. An incomplete volume, 36 leaves; from 1st to 13th pages the leaves are missing.

Length, $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches; width, 12 inches.

Subject:—From 13th to 70th pages, a sermon on the Archangel Gabriel, followed by lessons for his festival (?).

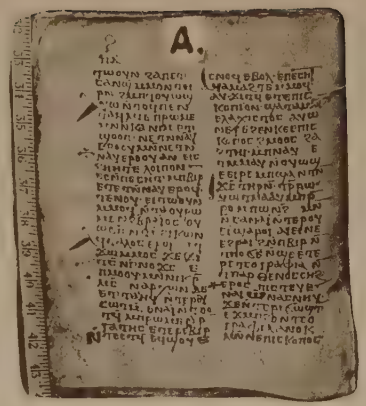
71st page, Gospel of St. Matthew.

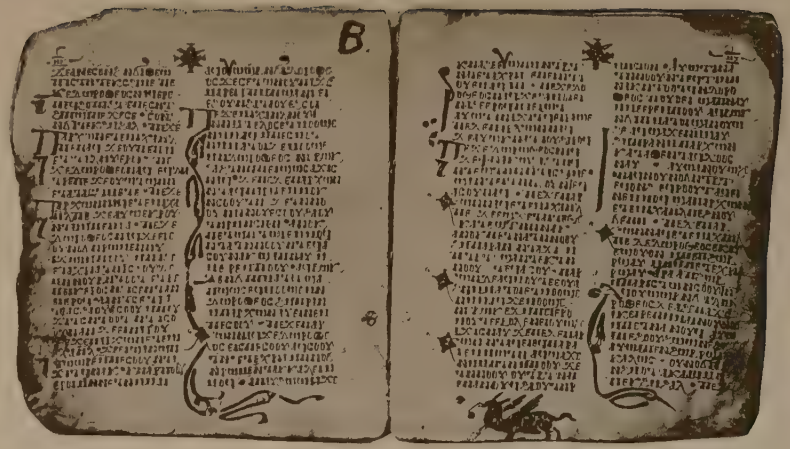
72nd to 73rd pages, Psalms.

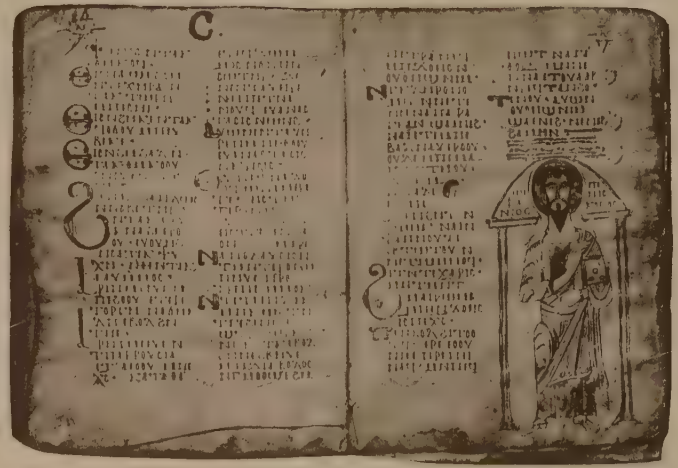
PLATE XLVIII

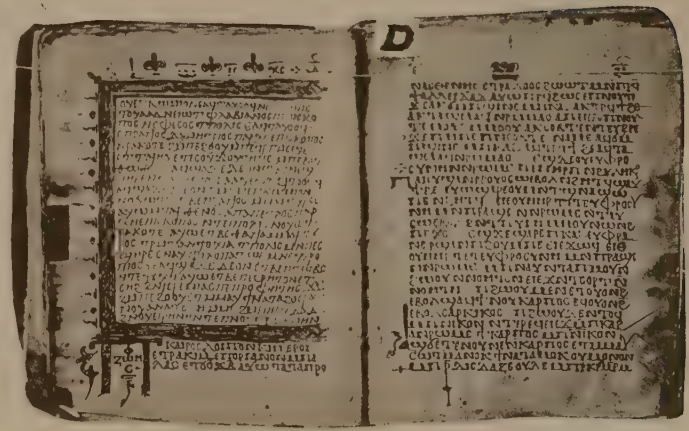
MSS. IN COPTIC: VELLUM

See p. 136


A.


B.


C.


D

75th page, Epistle of Timothy.
76th page, Epistle of Peter.
78th page, Fragments of Acts of the Apostles.
79th page, Psalms.
80th page, St. Luke.
Dated: A.D. 983.

C. An incomplete volume; 36 leaves with 2 illustrations of St. John and the Holy Virgin.
Length, 14 inches; width, 12 inches.
Subject (in four chapters):—
1st. The Death of John. (15 pages.)
2nd. A Sermon on Gregory by the Patriarch, Gregory Nazianzen. (Beginning only.)
3rd. A Sermon on the Virgin by Epiphanius of Cyprus. (Complete.) A.D. 990.
4th. Another Sermon on the Virgin by Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria. (End missing.)

N.B.—The Paris Library has an incomplete MS. in Coptic of the 1st text. The above is complete.

D. A complete volume, 83 leaves, with papyrus in the leather binding, covers about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick.
Length, $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches; width, 10 inches.
Subject (in six chapters):—
1st. The Life of Eustace and his children, who suffered martyrdom at Rome. (Unique version in Coptic. Greek known.)
2nd. The Life of Cyrus by Pambo.
3rd. A Sermon by Flavian, bishop of Ephesus, on Demetrius, Archbishop of Alexandria. (An unknown version.)
4th. Sayings by Ephraim.

5th. Sayings by Ephraim.

6th. Life of John, "of the Golden Gospel."

The volume is dedicated to the Monastery of Mercurius "on the Mountain of Edfu" ($\alpha\beta\tau\omega$); the scribe's name is given as Victor. Dated A.M. 719 = A.D. 1003. A complete Coptic version, other than this, is unknown.

CHAPTER VII

THE MANUSCRIPTS: NUBIAN

CHAPTER VII

THE MANUSCRIPTS: NUBIAN

The Nubian Volume is a small book in two parts, consisting of eighteen leaves of vellum sewn together in a leather cover. It measures $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $3\frac{3}{4}$, and is written in an upright uncial hand of oval shape.

The manuscript deals with two different subjects; the first chapter relates to miracles performed by the Alexandrian martyr, St. Menas, and the second half is a discourse on the Canons of Nicæa.

Plate XLIX. gives an all but full-sized reproduction of the first two pages of the St. Menas miracles. (Folio 1 verso, and 2 recto.)

Very little is known as yet about the Nubian language. The name is derived from Nubt, which, in Egyptian, signifies gold; much gold is said to have come from Nubia in ancient days. Nubia is the Cush of the Bible. The characters are Greek, with a few additional ones of purely Nubian origin; two, for instance, resemble the ш and щ in Slavonic, and are pronounced "sha" and "shtcha" respectively.

Mr. Griffith, in a letter of the 17th November 1907, says:—

> "The non-Greek Nubian letters were identified, so far as their reading is concerned, by Schaefer in his communications to the Berlin Academy on the Nubian MSS. last November. Two of them are Coptic, ϣ for "sh" and ϩ (presumably) for "h." Another ⳇ or ⳉ from the varieties in your MS. may be derived from the Coptic ⳋ. It has the value "g" (*j*), which is about that of the Coptic letter.

Besides these there are two n's, namely, ⲅ = ng and ⲭ = ny, ñ.[1] These sounds are not counted in Coptic.

"It does not seem possible, therefore, that there should be a connection between Nubian and Slavonic letters. The Coptic ϣ might indeed have suggested ш, but so too might the Semitic letter ש and its varieties."

With the advent of Christianity in Egypt and the northern parts of Africa, the Greek characters were adopted for writing the Coptic language and, as we now see, the Nubian also. It is known that the Nubians embraced Christianity some time about the sixth century, and professed that faith down to the fourteenth century, when it was supplanted by the Mohammedan religion.

Ostraca with Nubian writing have been found in Egypt, and some three years ago MM. Schaefer and Schmidt, of Berlin, came across several portions of vellum manuscripts. These were described in 1906 in the *Sitzungsberichte d.k. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. xliii.; "Die ersten Bruchstücke Christlicher Literatur in Altnubischer Sprache."

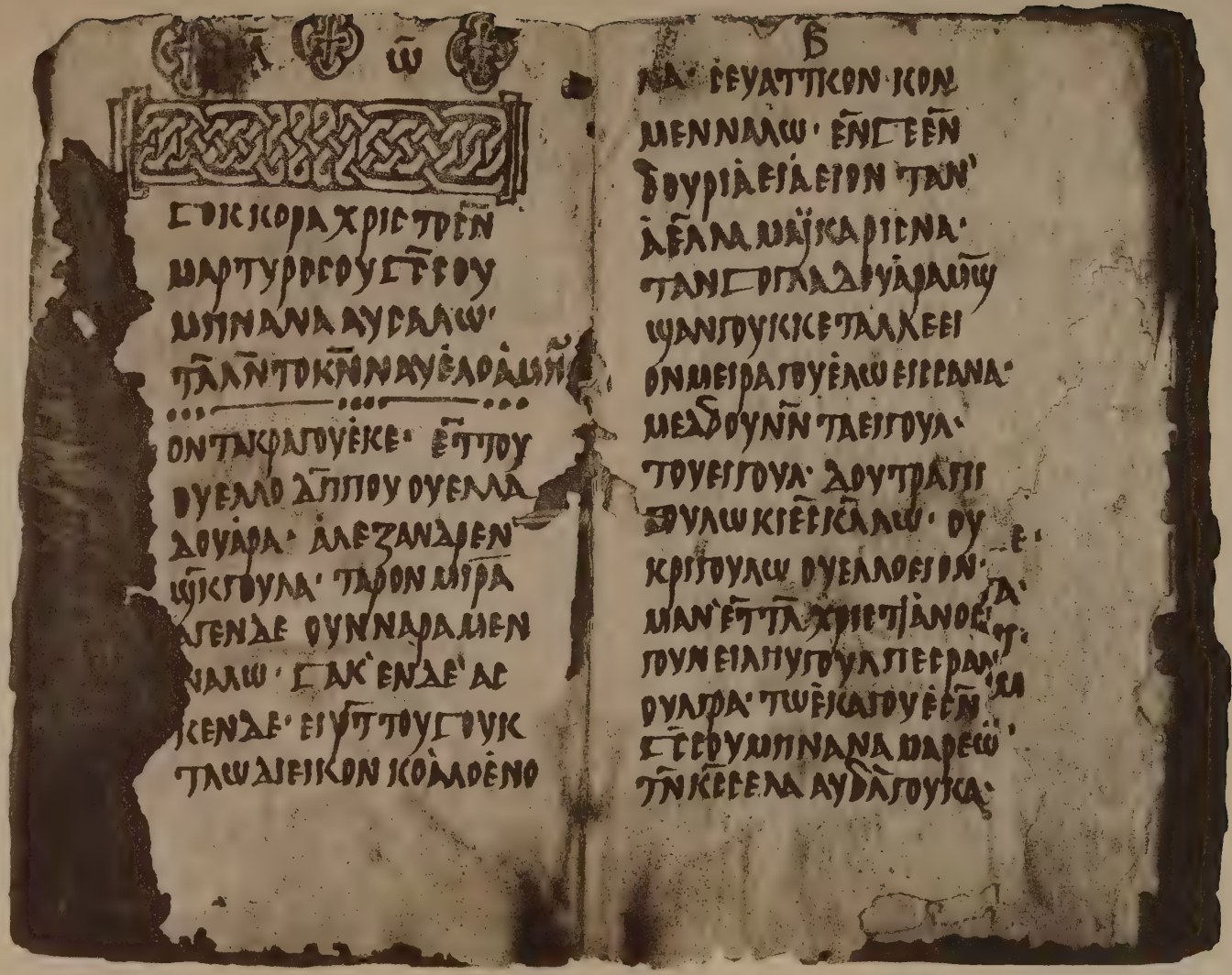
The volume now described is the only complete one known in the Nubian language, and dates probably from the tenth to the eleventh century. The manuscript figured in Plate XLII. was written for a Nubian and bears the date A.D. 1053, and as both come from the same locality, the Monastery of Edfu, they are possibly of the same approximate date. M. Lacau could not read the manuscript; I have since been in correspondence with Mr. T. Griffith of Oxford, who has not been able, in the present state of the knowledge of the language, to throw much light upon its actual contents, beyond describing a cursory incident in connection with the first chapter of which I shall speak later.

[1] The last-mentioned letter occurs also on a Greek Christian tombstone from Nubia, recently purchased That ebes for the French Government by M. Seymour de Ricci.

PLATE XLIX

MS. IN NUBIAN: VELLUM

See p. 141



The headings to each chapter give positive clues to their respective subjects. That of the first on Plate XLIX. is:—

"Ngokkora Christosn marturos ngssou Menana ausalo teentokn nauelo Amen."

and of the second (Plate LI.):—

"Ei nen goullo einnana K(urio)s senigouna kanona gouesn papasings sigouna Nikeaio."

Mr. Griffith writes that he hopes the Greek and Coptic works, from which this volume is no doubt a translation, will be found, in which case a comparison of texts, word for word, will, as in the famous case of the Rosetta stone, yield a key to the language. This little volume will then have rendered some useful service to philology, if no other, and will thereby have justified the tenacity with which it has clung to life through so many centuries.

Another MS. in the same lot, illustrated in Plate XLII., viz. a sermon by St. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, on the Sacred Cross, may, however, give the clue to the Nubian language, should one of the chapters among the Nubian leaves brought to Berlin by MM. Schaefer and Schmidt happen to be a translation of this text.

The life and miracles of St. Menas of Alexandria have come down to us both in a fairly complete form and in fragmentary records, but the study which several prominent archæologists have lately devoted to him has considerably extended our knowledge of the saint. The following brief notes may therefore be of some interest in this connection.

There are several saints of the name in the early church. St. Menas, bishop of Athens, Garrucci tells us, was put to death at Kotyaeion in Phrygia, and ultimately buried at Constantinople, where a church was built over his tomb; his memory is honoured by the Greek orthodox Christians on the 10th day of December.

Travelling in Lhazistan, Asia Minor, eight years ago, I came across a sect of Mohammedans living near Attina, an early Greek

colony on the coast, having underground places of worship, where they practise certain Christian rites. The people speak Greek as well as Turkish, and claim to be direct descendants of the original settlers, the name of the place being derived from ancient Athens. But they are more probably an offshoot of the conquered subjects of Comnenus' empire in the East, the former Trapezus.

I was passing through the country a few days before Christmas, and remember the natives speaking of a festival to be held in honour of St. Menas on the following day, viz. about the 10th of December, Greek calendar: there are also the ruins of a Byzantine church on the coast in that neighbourhood, which is believed to have been dedicated to the same saint. The correspondence of the dates of the festivals makes it probable that it is the memory of the Athenian Menas that is still being celebrated in Lhazistan.

Dates of festivals are often a sure guide to the identification of historical events, and seldom lead one astray, where a continuity of custom has existed for many ages, as is often the case in Asia Minor. The inhabitants in that country form two distinct classes, the Moslems as conquerors belonging to one class, possessing their own religious ceremonials and customs, duly scorned and ignored by the other conquered races, whose religion and customs, on the other hand, if not officially countenanced, are at least tacitly tolerated. It thus happens that in a country the size of the Turkish Empire, with most primitive means of communication, although many of the people and of the government officials may be fairly broad-minded, others in isolated districts still preserve the uncompromising spirit of the early conquerors, and profess a natural contempt for the sycophancy of Christians and Jews alike, and often show this feeling in oppressive acts. The devotees of a particular form of religion thus come to practise its rites in secret and, prizing it the more for the danger, preserve the rites and the tradition of its festivities with a jealous solicitude. In this way the dates of significant events are preserved and handed down from one genera-

tion to the other, and ultimately enable us to build up the history of the past, of which all material records are lost.

An interesting case in point is the celebration of Olympian games at regular intervals to this day at Peramus on the north-east coast of Cyzicus, an old Milesian settlement. Although the country has seen many vicissitudes since the days of its early colonisation, neither the Christian faith nor the Moslem rule have entirely destroyed all traces of Greek mythology in this out-of-the-way corner of the world. They have only added other much later quaint religious ceremonies forgotten elsewhere—some of these are still associated with local saints, amongst whom St. George is held in particular veneration.

Another St. Menas, mentioned by L. Garnett, was, according to the legendary account, an Armenian prince named Minas, who served Rome under Decius about A.D. 254. He was accused of Christianity and condemned to be thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre of Florence, the Emperor being then encamped near that city; the beasts declined to devour him and, after a series of equally futile attempts to take his life, he was finally beheaded and buried, the beautiful church of St. Miniato being subsequently built over his tomb, now under the altar of the crypt.

It is probably the cult of this saint Menas that survived in Italy and along the Dalmatian coast until a very much later period. Paul Veronese painted a picture of a bearded and armed St. Menas on a panel in the church of San Geminiano at Venice, and Vansleb gives an account of certain apparitions of the saint during festivities in the month of May. It is possible, then, that these festivities were celebrated in honour of this Armenian Menas. Their date proves that they had no connection with the Athenian martyr of the same name.

On the other hand, the commercial intercourse of Venice with Byzantium and Egypt during the early period of Christianity may easily account for the introduction of popular foreign saints.

as in the case of St. Mark, to whom the famous church is dedicated.

The chapter dedicated to St. Menas in this manuscript, with the illustration of the martyr seated on horseback (Plate L.[1]), deals with a native saint and martyr commonly styled St. Menas of Alexandria. He was the son of Eudoxius, the Roman military governor of Nakius, a province in northern Africa, under Diocletian.

His birth was miraculously predicted, so the story goes, when his mother prayed for a son before the image of the Virgin Mary. The image answered the prayer with "Amin," hence the name Mina or Menas was given to the child. But it is more probable that the name is derived from "Mena," the first legendary king of the First Dynasty who reigned in Lower Egypt. The name appears in the papyrus, Plate XXXVIII., and again in the Cosmas and Damian manuscript, Plate XXXIX., miracle 29. It must have been a common name at the time in Egypt. Communications with deities, either direct or through their images, was no uncommon thing in those times when superstition and ignorance were rife. We have it recorded by Strabo that Jupiter Ammon admitted *viva voce* the divine descent of Alexander the Great when that emperor made his pilgrimage to the famous shrine, 332 B.C.; and a certain ikon at Kieff, Russia, was pointed out to the writer as having once shed tears, until the Czar put a stop to its crying by an imperial ukas. Other ikons in Russia have been known to appear suddenly, shed light and perform miracles, and some to have even spoken, all this within the memory of living men.

At the death of Eudoxius, Menas succeeded his father in the duties of governor; but his pious inclinations led him to go and pray and fast in the desert, where he saw a vision of crowned martyrs.

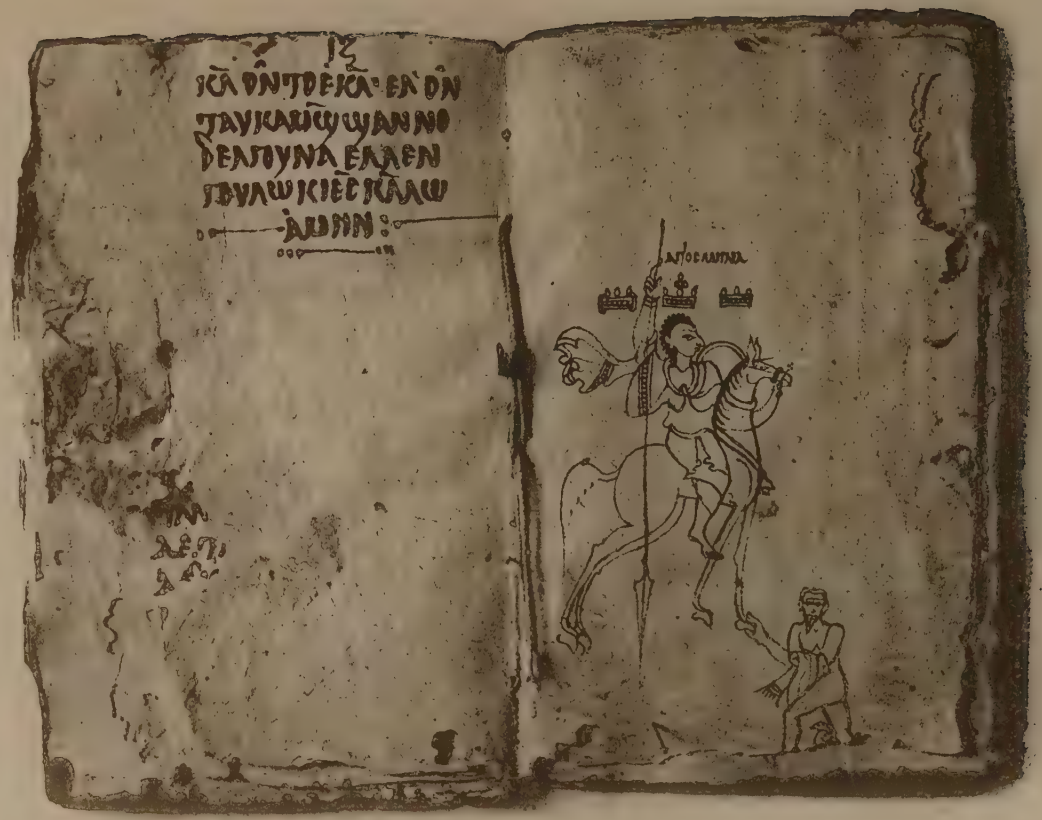
Coming to Alexandria, according to the version of Pleite, he confessed his faith in the Christian doctrine and, after unsuccessful

[1] This illustration was taken with a different lens and the resulting plate was much smaller.

PLATE L

MS. IN NUBIAN

See p. 146



bribery and torture at the hands of the prefect Pyrrhus, he was finally put to the sword.

It was not long before he performed miracles, for it is incidentally related that his body protected the troops of Pentapolis on their march along the coast to Alexandria.

He is said to have predicted that a camel would indicate the spot where he was to be buried.[1] He was buried in the desert a short distance west of Alexandria. The legend is that the camel carrying his body would not go beyond a certain spot, an obstinacy which is readily explained if we accept the view of some modern archæologists, who say that the church, which contained the tomb, was built near a well; indeed, the remains of a well actually exist among the ruins of this church. The site has been identified as that of Tel-Abumna in the district of Mariut, about twenty-five miles from Alexandria.[2]

The place of burial seemed to have been forgotten soon afterwards, but was discovered by a shepherd, who noticed that some of his sheep recovered from their disease after rolling in the mud near a particular spring in the desert. The spring may possess a solution of sulphur or oxide of iron, or perhaps both. The news spread, and people suffering from many bodily ailments flocked to the spot and were cured. It was then established that the miraculous properties possessed by the water were due to the saint and martyr who lay buried there.

During the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries the miracles performed at the tomb of this martyr increased rapidly and were noised abroad, and it has been recorded that, after a Byzantine princess had come to the well for a cure of leprosy, she built a

[1] *Cf.* the similar introduction of a camel in connection with the burial-place of SS. Cosmas and Damian.

[2] For a detailed account of excavations at the Menas temple, see Carl Maria Kaufmann, *Berichte ueber die Ausgrabung der Menas-Heiligtuemer in der Mareotiswueste.* Cairo, 1906–1908. Three Parts.

church over the site out of gratitude for having got rid of the fearful disease.

The more noteworthy cures were effected at the shrine itself, whither pilgrims flocked from distant lands, but the cult spread along the coast of the Mediterranean where small "Mena" bottles were carried by traders and pilgrims; these bottles, originally larger and intended no doubt for water, were subsequently used for sacred oil, which keeps longer. They were ornamented with effigies of St. Menas, either with outstretched arms or holding some animals, often with a cross and inscriptions, the usual form being:

ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ

But the miracles performed by the saint were not restricted to the protection of soldiers and the cure of ordinary ailments of the body alone, for according to T. Griffith, who has endeavoured to read the Nubian text, the miracle in this case is a prediction of the birth of a son—a curious coincidence with the similar prediction in the case of Menas himself—to a pagan 101 years old, apparently childless, who visits the Church of St. Menas, having been told of the wonders wrought there, and has a vision of the martyr. He is promised a son, to be called Menas. Plate L. illustrates the vision seen by a juvenile-looking centenarian with a pointed beard. The suppliant is near the right-hand corner, below the vision of the saint on a white horse. The saint is beardless, with curly hair, holding in his right hand a lance point downwards, and with a flowing garment thrown over his shoulders. Three crowns in a line surmount his head, with the inscription ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΗΝΑ. The drawing is in black.

The saint is likewise said to have revived the dead. There is a story of his appearing to an innkeeper who had murdered a man; the guilty man confessed the crime and the victim was brought back to life.

The beginning of the decline of the fame of this shrine can

be traced to the discord between the Christians in Lower Egypt, particularly in Alexandria. We find the Byzantine Emperor in A.D. 840 ordering the columns and marbles, which the Melkites had removed from the Church of St. Menas to revenge themselves on their Jacobite rivals, to be sent to Constantinople.

The conquest by the Saracens of the entire country down to the sea, and the levying of taxes on Christian places of worship, soon damped the ardour of the few lingering believers round the decaying shrine which, a few years later, was completely demolished.

Amelineau in the *Actes des Martyrs* has attempted to establish an analogy between St. Menas and Horus, who is often represented as standing on a crocodile and holding animals at arm's-length like St. Menas. This is possibly another instance of the persistence of earlier deities and ceremonies in the Christian faith, whether this be due merely to the force of custom or to the partial relapse of only half-converted pagans.

The second chapter, as the heading indicates, refers to the Nicene Creed, and may, when read, throw fresh light on this interesting subject. The first two pages are illustrated on Plate LI.

This Creed was much discussed in Egypt, and particularly in Alexandria, about the time of its formulation. Alexandria was at that time regarded as the chief seat of Christian learning, and the Arian doctrines which led to the calling of the Council of Nicæa were first propounded there. Thus the matters treated in this section of the manuscript were of supreme interest in Egypt, and we have reason to hope that, when this volume comes to be translated, it will throw some fresh light on this highly interesting subject.

The lengthy Coptic texts on the Council of Nicæa have been collected and translated by M. Revillout. It is to be hoped they may help the reading of the Nubian text.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PLACE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN HISTORY

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It is entirely beyond my province to make any attempt to write a history, however brief, of Egypt or of the Christian Church. The one volume, to which the present book is limited, would not suffice to give any conception of these two vast subjects. But there are certain dominating facts concerning the past civilisation of Egypt, with a direct bearing upon the subsequent development of its people and religion, that cannot well be left unrecorded in these pages, if the real significance of the early Christian literature of which the manuscripts treat is to be brought out, and the reasons that led to the acceptance of the new faith, and the view taken of it by the Copts, Greeks, and other Christian races during the first ten centuries of the Christian era, are to be understood. Past and present are very closely linked together in Egypt; and although Egypt has more vicissitudes on record, owing to the length of its history, than any other known country, yet we find in the result that the modern inhabitants as a whole differ but little from their ancient predecessors. Nor can any country show a greater continuity of customs, manners, thought, language, and religion than Egypt; their survival is no doubt due entirely to the geological and climatic conditions of the country, which possesses a marvellous and unlimited power of providing sustenance and wealth for a great population, and thus absorbing in time the influx of the conquerors and their religions and customs. The periodical inundation of the Nile is the great instrument of this power, and it is more eagerly expected and more vitally essential in Egypt than a good summer for the harvest in England. The river carries within itself the forces of life

and death. Without it Egypt would be as barren as Sahara. The ancient historians styled that country "the Gift of the River," and no designation can bring before our minds so vividly the entire dependence of Egypt on the Nile for its life and prosperity. Is it to be wondered at that its inhabitants should have acquired certain habits and forms of thought connected directly or indirectly with this mighty natural phenomenon? These habits have survived and will probably always continue in Egypt, and the more we learn, therefore, of Egyptian mythology and early history, the easier it is for us to trace in many coincidences in the Christian cult and doctrines introduced during the third to fifth century period the survival of the more primitive Egyptian religious beliefs. The Birth Chamber of the Egyptian gods may still be seen in many temples, corresponding in character to the humble place of the nativity of Jesus; the psychological manner of the conception of Isis is again in many respects analogous to that of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. The numerous triads, to which previous references have been made, do not differ in any but a relative sense from the Christian conception of the Trinity; nor do the winged goddesses, birds, and animals from the angels, sacred pigeons and dragons of Christian tradition. Then, again, there is a close parallel between Horus on horseback trampling on Set in the shape of a crocodile, and the famous story of the slaying of the dragon by St. George of Cappadocia. The very resurrection of Osiris, the Ānkh—the sign of perpetual life—a cross with a loop, invariably seen in the hand of Egyptian deities, and miracles were all introduced into Christianity by the priests long after the death of Jesus Christ, doubtless in many cases with the intention, conscious or sub-conscious, of bringing the new faith into line with the old faiths that had so great a weight of tradition behind them. It was not till A.D. 431 that Mary was acknowledged divine in virtue of her motherhood of Jesus. And we may trace in detail the fusion of the older and the younger beliefs, as the festivals and other ceremonials of the

pagan religions were re-introduced into the Christian Church with the beliefs and customs of which the origins of these celebrations had little to do; the ceremony at the birth of a new Sun was supplanted by the Christmas Feast, and to this day the costume of the Catholics of the East and West still bears legible traces in its design of the ancient dress of the old deities and their priesthood.

No one of the great and eminent body of the anthropologists would, I think, be disposed to admit a spontaneous or independent origin for any of the details of faith and practice which I have shown above to be part of a general religious evolution rather than the peculiar marks of that section of belief known as the Christian religion. Some, it may be, in their fear lest they should give offence to that narrow sectarian body of opinion, which arrogates as its private province all matters spiritual and everything relating to religious psychology, may conceal the inevitable deductions which their researches entail. But the interrelation of religious forms is becoming more clearly recognised every day, and no opposition of vested spiritual interests can avail to stop the progress of the inquiring mind.

In Egypt the spiritual continuity is strikingly paralleled by the social.

Travelling up the Nile, one finds the same kind of mud structures in use to-day as the semi-savage natives probably built for themselves ten thousand years ago; for models of huts six thousand years old have recently been found resembling those in actual existence; one sees also the classical sun-dried brick of mud and straw in daily use, as it has been, we know, for at least eight thousand years. The shadoufs, leather buckets balanced on a pole with a mud weight, for raising water from the Nile into the irrigation channels high up the banks, are standing to-day, just as they are represented in tombs four thousand years old, and no doubt their use dates back for many thousand years earlier still. Nor, to all appearance, have the implements used for the tilling of the soil and the system of irrigation undergone any change, for all are quite primitive. And

when we come to the manner of praying, we can again trace it for thousands of years back, portrayed on stelæ, painted on tombs or cloth, and carved in stone and wood.

The Arab boys of the present day wear a tuft of hair on the right side of their otherwise closely cropped heads. Harpocrates is always portrayed with a similar lock. When I asked an old Arab sheikh for an explanation of this, he said in all seriousness that it was an old custom. When the boy grows up he becomes a soldier, and if he is killed and beheaded in battle, his infidel conqueror may lift the head by this tuft, instead of putting his finger in the mouth and so prejudicing the true believer's chance of Paradise.

Another striking instance of a habit resulting in what is almost a physical deformity may be seen in the shuffling manner of walking of some of the modern Egyptians, who never rise on the ball of the foot, nor bend the ankle-joint, but merely slide their feet along the ground at an angle of forty-five degrees to the direction in which they go. This deformity, for such at first sight it really seems to be, is more particularly noticeable in the Jews and other Orientals, whether they live in Europe or in their own native lands bordering on the sandy deserts of the tropics.

It is not difficult to find the cause of this manner of walking: it arises from long use of heavy, thick-soled sandals, attached to the feet by a narrow strap in order to protect them from the scorching heat of the sand. The writer has seen many of these sandals, and possesses a pair, two inches thick, made up of layers of leather or raw hide sewn together, each sandal weighing several pounds. Although so heavy and uncouth in appearance, in use they are surprisingly comfortable and easy after a little practice. The Oriental traveller, traversing the vast distances of the desert, cannot be continually lifting these dead-weights, so he merely slides them along the rolling grains of sand in a semi-lateral direction, thereby causing less friction than by forcing them forward lengthwise. To do this, the feet would naturally have to be turned toes outward, with a somewhat

rigid ankle, and countless ages have stereotyped both the manner itself and the resulting form of the foot, which persists for generations even after the migration of the people to countries of different conditions.

As with the physical, so it is with the psychological nature of the people. Moslem, Jew, or Copt, all alike stand in the same unabated awe of a supreme, unknown, but beneficent Deity, and dread an even less definitely conceived spirit of evil, whom in turn they implore, reproach, and bribe, just as the earliest dwellers of Egypt must have done in the pre-dynastic days, or when the first conception of religion took root in the minds of man in his primitive savage state. They believe in a decreed Fate, and, next to God and the Devil, either venerate or in turn abhor all power and authority by sheer force of habit and association of ideas. Furthermore, all are equally superstitious, resembling in this their immediate ancestors, the indigenous inhabitants of the Nile Valley.

This attitude towards authority, divine and human, is constant in humanity, and the rulers and priests of mankind have always turned it to their own advantage. From the beginnings of time the stronger has lorded it over the weaker, employing brute force at first and afterwards the more resistless impulsion of the intellect. "Power rarely improves," it has been said, "and almost invariably corrupts." And perhaps the most corrupt of all forms of power has been that one which uses the best instincts and worst fears of man as its instruments. It would be wrong to call it "Religion"; we can best define it as Ecclesiasticism.

Of the rise and progress of Ecclesiasticism Dr. Momerie has given a significant account. This account I will summarise as briefly as I can. "With the primitive savage," he says, "comfort and discomfort were the main things in life. Comfort he accepted as his due without thinking deeply on its origin. But discomfort came as something out of the ordinary run, a sudden calamity launched at him by something outside his experience. Arguing from his own

disposition—for he knew that anger in himself tended to produce calamity in his neighbour—he saw behind his misfortunes a vindictive personal power. His next affair was to propitiate that power. Here came in the priests, a specialised body of men, who knew the ritual of propitiation and could tell just what would suit his particular case. Possibly some of those earliest clergy were sincere believers, but probably in the majority of cases they merely traded on the faith of their lay brethren. Ecclesiastics, then, in those early days were mere traffickers between God—or gods—and man, offering the sacrifices of the one for the supposed protection of the other. Morality did not enter into the matter at all. And this character they still in some measure preserve. The inspired religious teacher—Isaiah, Zoroaster, Confucius, Gautama, Christ—has always laid it down as the first law that a man must be good in himself, apart from any fear of Hell or hope of Heaven. The Ecclesiastics lay greater stress on the end than on the means. To avoid Hell and obtain Heaven at any cost is to them the great end of human life. And they have modestly given the world to understand that through them and their rites alone lies this direct way to Heaven. In this way they have prostituted the human conscience and delayed the advance of human intellect. The great organic growth of the race lies altogether outside the Ecclesiastical range of vision. And the emancipation of individuality, which is the last result of that growth, will ultimately bring the fabric of Ecclesiasticism to ruin. "Let men but think, and priests are priests no more."

The distinction between creed and dogma has not been sufficiently recognised. Creeds are tentative formulations of results, expressing only the present belief; dogmas are rigid formulas, binding on the future. Every genuine science has its creed, but no science dares rest in dogma. Theology in consequence is not a science, but an intellectual exercise within restricted limits. Free thought—the watchword of science—it universally condemns, whether the mouthpiece of its condemnation be the Pope or

Luther. The churches condemn every movement of inquiry in theology.

The two main sources of theological tradition, the Bible and the Councils, are themselves, from the historical point of view, open to the gravest suspicion. The Bible, so often spoken of as The Book, is not one book but many, not one creed but many, full of verbal and moral contradictions. It cannot be infallible, because it is self-contradictory. What of the Councils, the official interpretation of the Bible? It is idle to expect to get infallibility by adding together a number of fallible votes. Ultimate truth is not established by accidental majorities. For example, the Nicene Creed was laid down as final by the first Council, and accepted as such by the second and third. The fourth Council materially altered its nature, and yet a churchman accepts the fourth Council as on the same level with the first three. This jumble of inconsistencies the Church proclaims to be revealed truth. No science can accept this claim.

In considering these internecine struggles of the early Church, we are forced to the conclusion that, had the professors of Christianity only understood the true significance of Christ as a reviver of ancient moral codes with a deeper meaning and a more practical force, they could never have committed those excesses which earn them the execration of all right-thinking men. But they chose to lay the greater stress on the theological aspect, the origin and nature of their teacher, and drew a warrant for their savage and un-Christian actions from the divinity of their Lord. In the fierce debates which grew up around this point they forgot the precepts which it had been his chief mission on earth to inculcate, and, by corrupting Christianity almost at its source, left a legacy of strife and bloodshed to all succeeding generations. They wrapped the clear teaching of Christ in a mist of interpretations, and we are not yet free from the results of this obscuring of the main issues of the new faith.

But their strife was as much political as theological. Behind all the oppositions of doctrine was the more bitter and more enduring opposition of the West and the East, of Rome and Constantinople. But the political animosity masked itself in theology in those days much as it does in the rivalries of commerce to-day.

The tension at length grew beyond bearing in the eleventh century and the East and West definitely separated.

Mr. Hore says: "The Patriarchs of Constantinople and the Bishops of Rome were each of them claiming to take precedence of the other, and there hardly seems to have been room for both in one individual Church. On the 6th of July 1054, the Papal Legates left a Writ of Excommunication on the Holy Table of St. Sophia and departed, shaking the dust from off their feet. Thus was effected the schism which was the culminating result of the long contest for supremacy between the Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople."

EPILOGUE

EPILOGUE

In publishing the manuscripts together with the foregoing commentary, I have endeavoured, as far as the subject permitted, to abstain from the expression of any merely personal opinions; my desire has been to give a simple statement of historical data, coupled with such personal observations as serve to confirm and elucidate the bare notices of records.

Some of the deductions I have been led to draw may appear to contradict this statement, but I can only say that they seem to me inevitable conclusions from established facts. The reader may, if he so wish, eliminate any deductions which he thinks unwarrantable without doing any damage to the account of the facts to which they are attached. I propose in this Epilogue to allow myself greater liberty.

My main object in this narrative has been to explain the sequence of historical events which led up to the writing of the manuscripts themselves, and so to enable the reader of the twentieth century to form a conclusion on sufficient grounds as to the intrinsic merits of the ecclesiastical literature which grew up in Egypt long after the death of Jesus Christ. For it cannot be denied that these manuscripts are a fair example of the literature of Egypt which succeeded the period when definite creeds and doctrines were evolved for the guidance of all Christians alike. And the type of man revealed to us in this literature was not confined to Egypt; there the faith, mixed with monotheistic doctrines, was perhaps less pure than in the Roman or the Orthodox Church; but in its influence on the lives of its professors that is a mere matter of detail; we have abundant evidence to show the lack of moral, or even the most

ordinary humanitarian principles in the Roman and the Greek divisions of the later Empire. In his "History of European Morals," Lecky says of this period: "The universal verdict of history is that it constitutes the most base and despicable form that civilisation ever assumed, and that there has been no other enduring civilisation so destitute of all the form and element of greatness, none to which the epithet mean may be so emphatically applied. It is a monstrous story of the intrigues of priests, eunuchs, and women, of poisoning, conspiracies, uniform ingratitude, perpetual fratricide."

A religion which has so little influence on those who profess it can have little living force in the literature of its time. The credulous simplicity and meaningless repetitions of these writings are the inevitable results of the debasement of faith. The early Coptic Christian literature was the product of an average moral type of the age. But, monstrous as the barbarity and inhumanity of this early period appear to us, we may on a closer inspection reasonably ask ourselves whether the world has so greatly improved in these matters. We hide all our evils from ourselves, as no doubt the people of Alexandria and Byzantium hid theirs. Our crimes are committed on different pretexts, but are they any the less crimes for that? Our culture and refinement are greater, but they only serve to increase our responsibility. And consider History! The Crusaders, from whom so many noble families proudly claim descent, are often quoted as examples of self-denying and pious chivalry. Yet murder and rapine were common among them, and at the siege of Jerusalem they massacred 70,000 defenceless Mohammedans. Five centuries later the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve, in which over 4000 Christians were slaughtered by another sect of Christians, was celebrated by the Pope by a grand procession, the striking of a medal, and the proclamation of a year of jubilee. And how far have the nations of Europe in more modern times allowed their professed Christianity to mitigate the horrors of war?

So little has been the influence of the Christian religion upon

Christian nations. But the humanitarian movement of our times, originating very largely outside the churches, has reacted upon them and is gradually lessening the rigidity of their dogmatic attitude. With this has gone a steadily increasing demand for liberty of thought. The English Church has been forced to modify its attitude to the conclusions of scientific thinkers. But the Roman Catholic Church has steadily set its face against the onward movement, and the present Pope has issued an ultimatum to the enemy within its gates.

The following appeared in one of the daily papers in London on the 17th December 1907:—

"The Pope held a secret consistory to-day for the creation of four new cardinals and the precognition of several bishops. His Holiness delivered an allocution, which may be described as another strong attack on the Modernists. As these have made no retort after their previous condemnation, with the exception of Father Tyrrell, all the thunders of the allocution would appear to be directed against him. Father Tyrrell's position seems to be an anomalous one. He is neither in nor out of the Roman Catholic Church; he refuses to submit to the Pope, but hesitates to adopt an attitude of open rebellion. Pope Pius X. again demonstrated his intention to be inexorable in stamping out even the faint inclination betrayed by the clergy to think for themselves and to trifle with the 'higher criticism.'"

Father Tyrrell is a priest who has been forbidden by the Pope to say mass on account of his Modernist leanings. Writing on the subject a short time ago, he sums up a lengthy article with the following pronouncement:—

"That the mediæval interpretation of Catholicism is doomed, is far more evident than that the various efforts of Modernism to find a re-interpretation will be successful."

This is the beginning of a new Reformation. Whether in the end Secularism will triumph or some modification of the Catholic

faith still hold to its own for generations, we cannot tell. But the critical spirit is abroad, and woe be to those who do not deal openly and sympathetically with that spirit![1]

The Orthodox Eastern Church is still untouched by any hint of Modernism. The centuries-old rituals and ceremonials still persist infused with the same spirit. Another account in a London daily paper of the marriage of one of the Greek princes at Athens brings this out very vividly:—

"The deacon, with a magnificent bass voice, intoned the marriage hymn, which the choir sang after him in chorus. Then the long and elaborate marriage ritual of the Orthodox Greek Church commenced, beginning with the ceremony of 'espousals,' in which two rings—one of gold, the other of silver—are blessed by the Metropolitan and given to the bride and bridegroom. The marriage vows having been taken by the Prince and his bride, each holding a candle in the left hand and placing the right on the Gospels, the rings were bestowed, the gold one being handed to the bridegroom and the silver ring to the bride. Then followed the 'coronation,' light gold crowns being placed on the brows of the bridal couple, who were afterwards conducted to the ikons of their patron saints, before which they bent their heads in prayer. After further ceremonies, including the blessing and partaking of the 'common cup' containing wine, prayers of benediction were recited, and the elaborate ceremonial, linked and blended by the magnificent music rendered by the full choir, came to an end, and the Prince took his Princess by the hand and led her to the King and Queen, and to her father, who embraced the newly married couple. The Metropolitan had the assistance of eight bishops in performing the ceremony."

Reading the above, one is carried back in thought to the early Christian period, and even beyond that, to what one would picture a like ceremony to have been in the days of the Ptolemies in Egypt.

[1] Father Tyrrell, who died recently, was refused the last rites of the Catholic Church, because he had not retracted his Modernist views.

The other great religion which has prevailed in Egypt, the Mohammedan faith, may very well be contrasted with the faith of Christian Europe. An unbiassed consideration of its teachings will show us how little cause there is to wonder that it has so great a hold over many millions of people in the East. It is the most natural and simple of all modern religions, full of noble precepts, sound common sense, and lofty moral ideals. Its doctrine is based upon the faith: "There is no God but God," and "Mohammed is the Apostle of God." The "Koran" lays down the law for man's worship of God, his moral and bodily welfare and general guidance. It was compiled about A.D. 633, and the creed then laid down has survived in its original form these many centuries, continually making converts, until now hundreds of millions profess the faith. Of the result of its moral teachings we have the clearest evidence in the marvellous unity of the people, their general high moral character and bodily health. Most of the demoralisation that can be alleged against the Moslems springs from their association with Christians, more particularly with the Christians of Eastern origin, the Assyrians, Greeks, Armenians, and others.

The difference in race, training, religion, and language makes it doubly difficult for the average European to understand the Moslem, particularly the Arab inhabitants of Egypt, and much trouble might be saved if these considerations were duly borne in mind; for no truer or more loyal people exist than the simple and straightforward Arab of Egypt, and most of the Europeans residing in Egypt could with advantage copy the suavity of manner and inborn politeness of the average better-class native Moslem. I am loath to give unnecessary quotations, but the following extract from a leader in a London newspaper, referring to Egypt, is so much to the point that I will quote it word for word as it appeared in December 1907:—

"No effort whatever is made by the younger Government officials to understand the people whom they are here to govern; they do not attempt to find out what circumstances and what ideals and

inner feelings have conduced to forming the Egyptian's habit of thought and mode of life. They do not pause to reflect that this has been reached after centuries of experience of religious, mental, and physical conditions of which the Englishman knows nothing. They do not seem to realise that in a philosophy thus arrived at there is much that is good and much that is more suitable to the native than that which has been the outcome of Western experience. The young official, particularly in the educational department, seems to have no idea of building on what he finds; his great idea is to demolish. Hide-bound by this lack of experience of life and by the narrow conventions of his University, he wishes to force the same outlook and the same ideals on a race totally unfitted for them by religion, training, tradition, and environment."

The moral, then, that I wish to draw from these investigations of a dead past, so many of the remains of which have entered into the living present, is the futility of all ecclesiastical dogma and religious conventionalism. The free spirit of man refuses to be confined within the narrow limits of a formula. Religious as well as social freedom is necessary to the full development of human power, which should be based equally on a sound physical as well as mental training, resulting in the culture that will best lend itself to its surrounding conditions. But I have no desire to deny the importance in human affairs of that moral enthusiasm which is the heart and soul of all religion. The intensity with which that enthusiasm possessed both Jesus Christ and Mohammed marks them out among the sons of men. And it is to this spirit that Dr. Livingstone made his great appeal when, in that lecture in the Senate House at Cambridge from which resulted the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, he said: "I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity; do you carry out the work which I have begun. I leave it with you."

Some of the most generous deeds and noblest actions within the last millennium have been inspired by the pure teachings of Western

European Christianity. And no one who has been intimately associated with Moslems in the East will deny the potentiality alike of the faith and lofty feeling that underlie the general conduct of their lives. Let us hope, therefore, that the efforts of these two great teachings may blend together in one aim some day, for the benefit not only of mankind in Africa, but that of the human race throughout the world.

THE END

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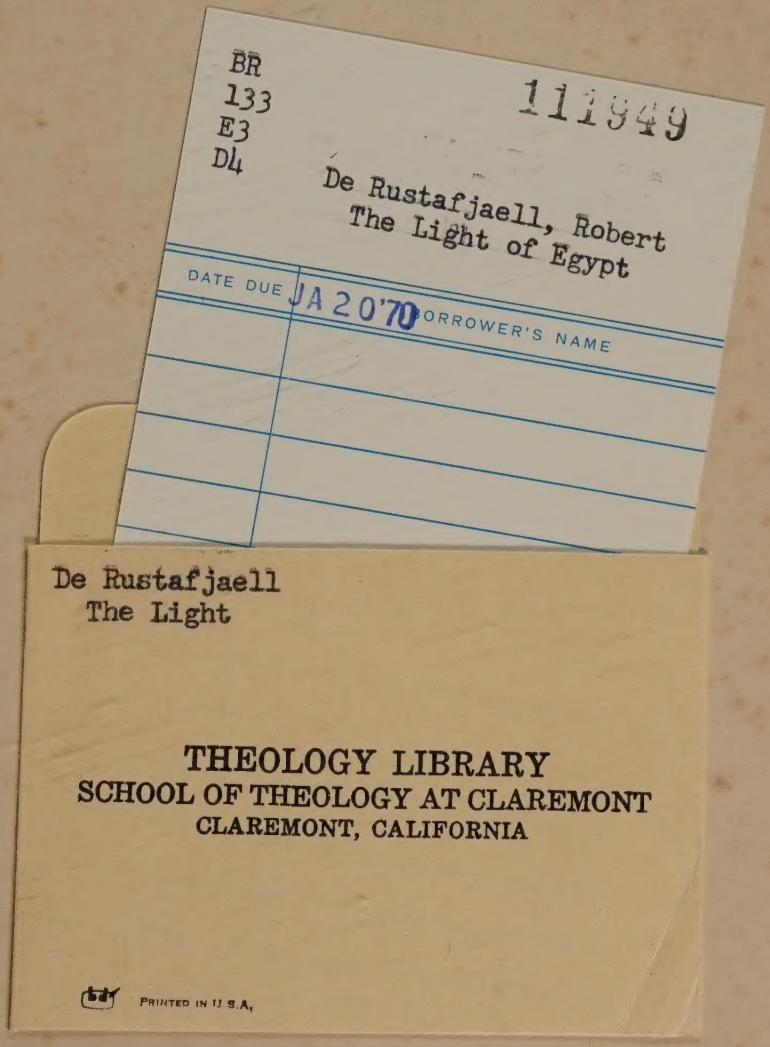
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